

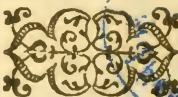
TWO BOOKES  
Of Constancie,

*Written in Latine, by  
Iustus Lipsius.*

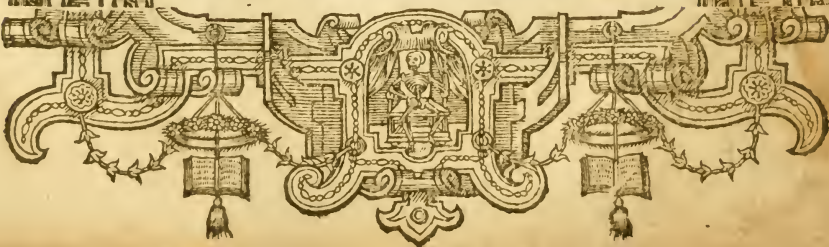
*Containing, principallie,  
A Comfortable Conference,  
in common calamities.*

And will serue for a singular conso-  
lation to all that are priuately distressed, or affli-  
cted, eisher in body or mind.

Englised by IOHN STRADLING  
Gentleman.



Printed at London by Richard Iohnes,  
at the signe of the Rose and Crowne neere  
S. Andrewes Church in Holborn. 1594.



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHILOSOPHY

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To the right worshipfull Sir  
*Edward Stradling*  
Knight.



Aviug lately vndertaken (right Wor-  
shipfull) the translating of this treatise  
into the english tongue, intending to  
gratifie you therewith, I thinke it not  
amisse to shewe the reasons that first  
moued mee therevnto : Now after it  
had bene extant in the latine so many  
yeares, and of them not a fewe hath lien neglected in my  
studie without attempting any such matter. It may ther-  
fore please you to call to remembraunce , how about  
Christmas last, m aister Iames Thomas a studious gentle-  
man, your kinsem an and my good friend , comming to  
your house to visit you , wee happened to fall in talke of  
some bookes wherin I had done mine eudeuour by tran-  
slating to pleasure you: Among which I chiefly approued  
that (*a*)wherin I last laboured, being by the Author ther-  
of very learnedly handle d, & hauing a notable Subiecte ,  
to wit, matter of pollicie and gouernemente in peace and  
warre. Wherevpon the gentleman recommended vnto  
me an other excellent booke of that argument , vpon  
which he wished me to bestowe some paines for your  
pleasure, whom hee perceaued to bee greatly delighted  
with such exercises. I promised him so to doe. But at his  
returne to London soone after, he aduertised me that the


*The Epistle Dedicatorie.*

same booke was englished, which in deed is very wel and sufficiently perfourmed by a learned gentleman, with no small labour to him, and some ease to me . Afterwardes feing the method of this writer so much pleased mee, (as I think it can displease no man that taketh pleasure in reading) I called to minde this treatise of **CONSTANCIE**, which came to my hands about ten yeares past, being a student in Oxford. And considering of it with better aduisement then euer I did before, it seemed vnto me a work not vnworthy your good consideration. And therefore albeit I know wel your iudgemēt to be very sufficient in vnderstanding latine writers far more profounde then this: yet aswell to make the same somewhat more familiar & plaine vnto you, as also that you may impart it to such of your friends as pleaseth you, and finally to shew my ready disposition in gratifying you to my power, I haue reduced it into english, I feare me, with more hast then good speede, not hauing spent full fīue weekes there abouts, as you very well know . Wherein I trauelled with the more paines for bringing forth this vntimely birth, to the end it might receaue his perfecte consummation against this day of your birth, whereunto I had respecte when I firste took the work in hand. And thus I earnestly recommend the preservation of it to your fauorable protection, praying you to accepte in good part my little labour, proceeding from no little good will . And so I wish to your selfe & to my good lady your spouse all happines, beseeching God longe to preserue you both . From my chamber in your castle of Saint Donatts. The xiiij of Iune. 1594.

*Your poore kinsman to command:*

John Stradling.

# The Epistle to the Reader.

fter I had translated this treatise (frendly reader) and presented it to him for whose priuate use I intended it, being moued thereunto vpon occasion in the former epistle declared: it seemed not amisse to the patron to haue the same published for the benefit of many. Whose iudgement I could not but very wel approue in respect of the matter, being both comfortable and pleasant to be read, and withall very orderly laid down, and handled after an vnaccustomed, yet most familiar) manner.

Vnderstand, that I haue for breuities sake purposely omitted the epistles before the booke, which are threec: being loath to pesterre thee with a packet of letters at the first) Onely I do here allcadge out of them a few things written by my Author in his owne defence. And first whereas some men pretend he hath not handled this argument deuoutly enough in that hee applieth not places of holy scripture to his purpose: As he accepteth well of their admonition, so his answer is that seeing he profeseth himsef here in no diuine, but a philosopher, (yet a Christian philosopher) they ought to beare with him. Hee acknowledgeth the only direct path-way to saluation to be comprised in those sacred bookes: but that good letters withal, and the writings of philosophers are both an ease and help for vs to attain vnto the vnderstanding of them, and do further vs in the way of vertue and godlines, howsoeuer som new Domitians maintaine the contrary, seeking to abolish all good arts & knowledge in humanity. That he writeth so highly in commendation of RIGHT REASON, although som times with the words of the Aũcients: yet he accepteth no reason pure or right except it be directed by God & illuminated by faith. If in writing of destiny & other lik profoud matters his tongue (through an ardente and earnest intente of a good meaning mind) hapned any wher to trip or his pen to slide; Be not thou

A defence for  
the Author,



## The Epistle

too rigorous towards him for it, he yealdeth to amend whatsoeuer shall be proued amisse. He professeth himselfe of the nomber of those that haue godlinesse rather in hearte, then in their mouth; And liketh not the time that is fruitefull of religious, and fruitelesse impietie. Finally he is none of those subtile sophisticall ianglers, that place philosophie in the quirk and quiddities of crabbed questions. But he directeth his studie to the forming of good manners, and moderating of affections, (especially feare, and sorrow in aduersitie) whereby hee may at length be safely harbored in the hauen of a contented mind. A notable testimonie whereof hee hath left vs in these two bookes, to the singular comforte of all that list to reade them.

In englishing whereof I haue endeouored the best I could to performe the duetic of an interpreter, keeping alwaies the sense and meaning of my author; yea the very words precisely in all definitions, distributions, distinctions & such like principal heads of matter, decyphering them in a greater letter; As the places quoted out of other writers, in a lesser. The marginall notes appeare to be of two sortes; Some answering to the places in the text directly against them, seruing for quotations or expositions: (with these letters a. b. c. &c) Others containing a brieve summe of the whole matter of each chapter by a perpetuall continuation, as if all of them were but one intire note. And euen so the contents before euery chapter haue not alwaies in them a perfect and full sense, but depende many times vpon the contents nexte following. In all these I sive rue not from my printed copie, sauing that I haue added a few marginall notes for expositions sake where neede required. Lastly I haue with some more care and diligence of mine owne, reduced the summe of both bookes into a large and plaine table containing the argument of the whole conference vnder one viewe, the better to helpe thym memorie, if it please thee to consider of the matter with more mature deliberation.

If thou reape any pleasure or profit by this discourse, giue  
thankes

A reason of  
the translators  
doings herein.



## To the Reader.

thanks (next vnto God) to my Author; then to the patron, for whom onely and by whome the same was both englished and published. For mine owne part I desire no more but curteous acceptation of my trauaill, I hope I deserue no lesse. A little good-will and a few good wordes for many daies work, is no vnreasonable rewarde: And he that grudgeth to giue such bare wages, as I would be loth to be his man, so if himselfe were bound to serue a bad master seuen yeeres after the same rate, I wot well he would mislike his penny-worths before that prentiship were expired, and euer after looke on other mens labours with a more fauorable eie. But for thee (curteous reader) at whose hands I doubt not to receaue better entertainment, I beg hartely of him which giueth euery good gift, that by reading & meditating vpon this little treatise, it will please him to worke in thy mind such a firme impression of **CONSTANCIE**, as neither the violent floods of common calamities may be able to wash away, nor the fire flame of priuate afflictions to consume the same: But that as a plant set in good ground, watred with the fruitfull streames flowing in (a) goulden and siluer cesterns from the sweete fountaine of Lipsius, and conueighed to thee through these clayie conduite-pipes of my tempering, thou maist take deepe roote, and stand immouable against all the blastes of fortune, neither terrified with feare of future mishappe, nor dismaied for any perilles present or past. Which victory though it seeme full of difficulty, yet if thou take vnto thee the armour and wepons here offered, hauing an indifferent courage of thine owne, thou shalt assuredly remaine a conquerour of those selfe affections, which do tirannize ouer the greatest tyrants, holding their minds in more seruile subiection, then they do the bodies of their vilest captiues. Farewell. From the castle of **Saint Donatts** the **xxiiii** day of **August**. 1594.

(a) I meane the Greeke and Latin phrases.

Thine to do thee good:

Io. Stradling.



The Printer to the curteous Reader.

*I*N perusing this book, if thou find any faults which haue escaped in the printing, I pray thee to correct them with thy Pen. Afterwards reade the book thoroughly, and belieue me no more, if thou find not therein sufficient cause to thinke thy labour well bestowed.

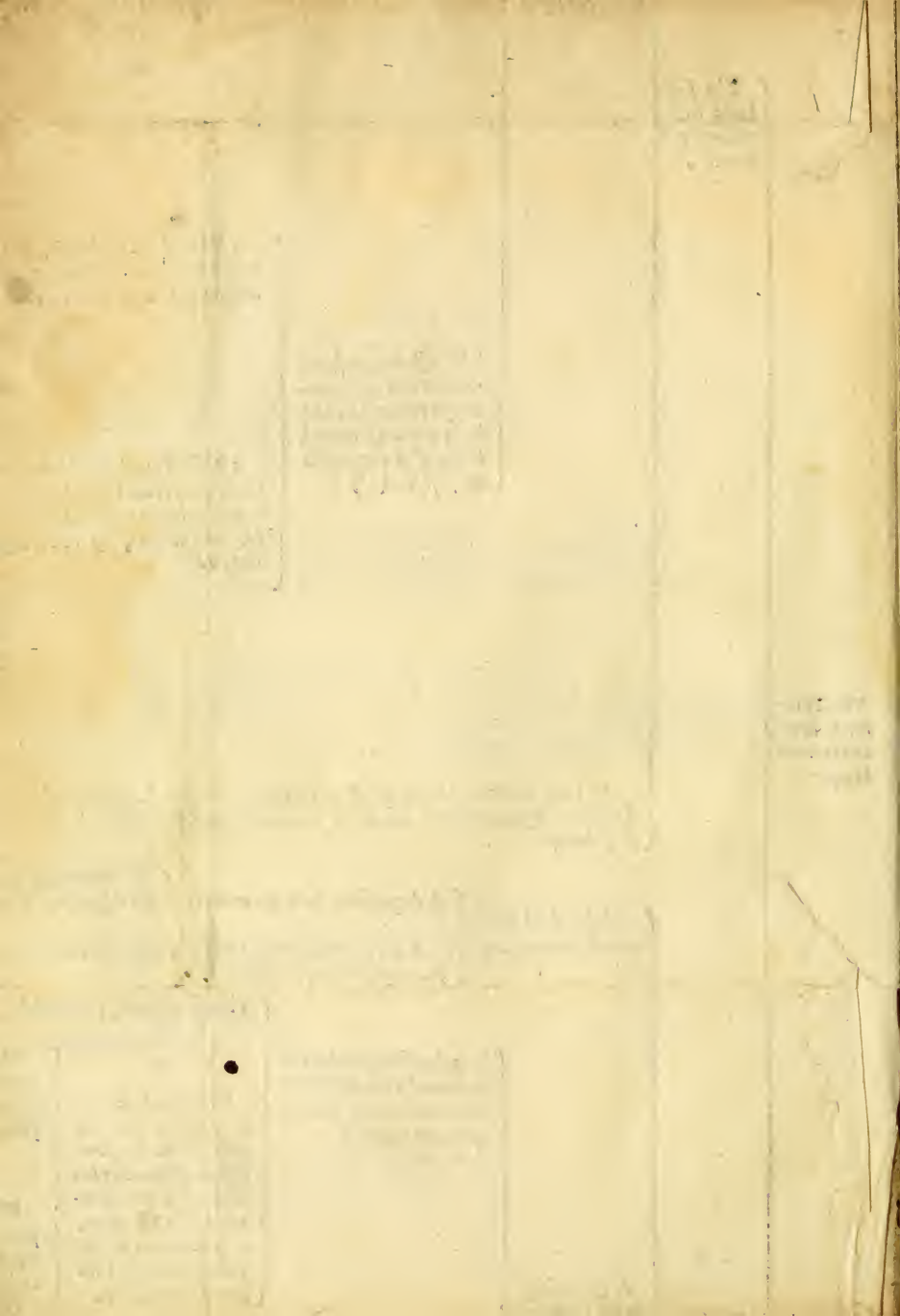
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# Iustus Lipsius his first

Booke of CONSTANCIE.

## Chapter. I.

*A Preface and introduction: Also a complaint of the troubles of the Lowe-cuntries.*



Fewe yeares past, as I travelled towardes Vienna in *Austrich*, I turned aside (not without Gods direction) to the towne of *Liege*, being not far out of my way, and where I had some friendes, whome both for custome, and good will I was perswaded to salute.

*aying the  
of my Com*

Among whom was *Charles Langius*, a man (simple and without boasting be it spoken) for vertue and learning the chiefe of the Flemings. Who hauing receiued me into his house, tempered mine entertainment, not only with curtesie and good wil, but also with such communication as was profitable vnto me, and will be whiles I liue. For he was the man that opened mine eyes by driving away the clouds of some vulgare opinions: he shewed me the path-way whereby I might directly come (as *Lucretius* saith) *Edita doctrina Sapientum templa Seneca:*

The praise of Charles Langius.

*To the loftie temples of Sages right,*

*By the cleare beames of Learnings light.*

For, as we walked in the porch of his house after noone, the hot sunne towards the end of Iune, being in his full force, he asked me friendlie of my iourney, and the causes

B

therof.

thereof. To whom when I had spoken much of the troubles of the Low-countries, of the insolencie of the gouernours and souldiers, I added lastly that I pretended other excuses, but this in trueth was the cause of my departure. For (saide I) who is of so hard and flinty a heart that he can anie longer endure these euils? wee are tossed, as you see, these manie yeares with the tempest of ciuill warres: and like Sea-faring men are wee beaten with sundrie blastes of troubles and sedition. If I loue quietnesse and rest, the Trumpets and raling of armout interrupt mee. If I take solace in my countrey gardens and farmes, the souldiers and murtherers force mee into the Towne. Therefore (*Langius*) I am resolued, leauing this infortunate and unhappie *Belgica* (pardon mee my deare Countrie) to change Land for land, and to flie into some other part of the world, where I may neither heare of the name, nor factes

the mischiefs  
of ciuill wars.

Flanders  
v. w. v. h.

(a) Retruixt  
whome hor-  
rible incest  
and murther  
were commit-  
ted.

of (a) *Pelops broode* — ubi uide *Pelopidarum facta neque nomina* <sup>audian</sup>

Hereat *Langius* much maruelling and mooued: yea (*friend Lipsius*) and will you thus leaue vs? Yes trulie (saide I) I will either leaue you, or this life. How can I flie from these euils but onely by flight? For, to see and suffer these thinges daylie as heretofore, I cannot, *Langius*, neither haue I anie plate of steele about my heart. *Langius* sighed at these wordes, and therewithall saide vnto me, O sonde youngling, what childishnesse is this? Or what mindest thou to seeke safetie by flying away? Thy countrey (I confesse) is tolled and turmoyled grieuouflie: What part of *Europe* is at this day free? So as thou maist coniecture that saying of *Aristophanes* to proue true.

The troubles  
of Europe,  
which doe  
threaten a  
subuersion, or  
conuersion.

\* *Thundering Iupiter will turne all things upside downe.*

Wherefore (*Lipsius*) thou must not forsake thy countrey, but thy affections. Our mindes must be so confirmed and conformed, that we may bee at rest in troubles, and

\* — τὰ δ' ὑπέριερα νεύτερα θῆσαι  
Ζεὺς ὑψιβρέμετος, i. e.  
supra infra reddet Iupiter altilonans.

and haue peace euen in the midst of warre. Hereto I rashly ynough, replied: Nay surely, I wil forsake my countrey, knowing that it is lesse grieffe to heare report of euils, than to bee an eye-witnesse vnto them: Besides that, thereby we our selues shall bee without daunger of the lystes: Marke you not what *Homer* wisely warneth? *Bee out of the weapons reach; least that haply some man adde one wound vnto another.*

A common remedie of a voiding troubles, to flee from them.

Εκ βελών μη πού τις ἐφ' ἑλκῶ ἀμνηται, i. d.  
*Extra tela, ne quis vulnori vulnus addat.*

## CHAPT. II.

*That traueilling into forreine countreyes is not auailable against the inwarde malladies of the minde: That it is a testimonie of them, but not a remedie against them, except onlie in sleight and first motions of the affection.*

**L** Argius beckening somewhat with his head: I heare thee (*Lipsius*) but I had rather thou wouldst hearken to the voyce of wisdom and reason. For these mystes and cloudes that thus compasse thee, doe proceede from the smoake of OPINIONS. Wherefore, I say with *Dionenes*, Thou hast more neede of reason, than of a <sup>†</sup>rope. That bright beame of reason (I meane) which may <sup>†</sup>illuminate the obscuritie of thy braine. Behold, thou forsakest thy countrey: Tell me in good sooth, in forsaking it, canst thou forsake thy selfe also? See that the contrarie fall not out: And that whither soeuer thou goe, thou carrie not in thy breast the fountaine and food of thine owne grieffe. As they that be holden with a feuer, doe tesse and turne themselues vnquietlie, and often change their beds through a vaine hope of remedie: In like case are wee, who being sicke in our mindes doe without any fruite, wander from one countrey to another. This is indeede to bewray our grieffe, but not to allay it. To discover this

The former opinion confuted.

The original of trouble is in our selues.

therefore change of places cannot take them away:

But only bewray them.



inward flame, but not to quench it: very fitly said that wise  
 (a) Romaine: *It is proper to a sicke person not to suffer anie thing  
 long, but to use mutations in steed of medicines: Hereof proceede  
 wandring peregrinations, and walkings on sundry shores: And our  
 INCONSTANCIE, alwaies loathing thinges present,*  
*one whiles will be upon the sea, and incontinent desires the land.*

(a) Seneca.  
 (b) 4. of his *Ae-  
 neidos.*

Therefore you flie from troubles alwayes, but neuer escape  
 them, not vnlike the Hinde that (b) Virgil speaketh of,  
*Whō ranging through the chace, some hunter shooting far by châce  
 All vnaware hath smit, and in her side hath left his lance,  
 She fast to wildernes and woods doth draw, and there complaines,  
 But all in vaine: because as the Poet addeth,*

---*That underneath her ribbes the deadly dart remains.*

So you that are wounded with this dart of affections, doe  
 not shake it out, but in traueilling carie it with you to an  
 other place. Hee that hath broken his thigh or his arme,  
 lysteth not, I trowe, to goe on horsebacke, or into his  
 chariot, but to a Surgeon: And what madnesse is this in  
 thee, to seeke remedie of this inward wounde by motion,  
 and trudging from place to place?

For it is a dif-  
 ease of the  
 mind.

It is the mind that is wounded, and all this external im-  
 becillitie, dispaire & languishing, springeth from this foun-  
 taine, that the mind is thus postrated and cast downe. The  
 principall and soueraigne part hath let fall the Scepter, and  
 is become so vile and abiect, that it willinglie serueth his  
 owne seruantes. Tell me, what good can any place or pe-  
 regrination worke in this case? Except happily there bee  
 some region in the world which can temperate feare, brid-  
 le hope, and draw out these euill dregges of vice, which  
 we haue sucked from our infancie. But none such is there,  
 no not in the fortunate Ilands: Or if there be, shew it vnto  
 vs, and we will all hasten thither in troupes.

Which no  
 place hath  
 power to cure

But you will say, that the selfe mutation and change,  
 hath



hath that force in it: And that the daylie beholding of strange fashions, men, and places doth refresh and lighten the mind loaden with opprelions. No (*Lipsum*) you are deceiued. For, to tell you the trueth plainlie, I doe not so much derogate from peregrination and traueilling, as though it bare no sway ouer men and their affections: yea verely, it auayleth, but yet thus farre, to the expelling of some small tediousnes and wearinesse of our mindes, not to the curing of maladies rooted so deeply, as that these externall medicines cannot plucke them vp. Musicke, wine, and sleepe haue oftentimes quenched the first enkindled (a) sparkes of anger, sorrow, and loue: But neuer weeded out any settled or deepe rooted grieffe. Likewise I say, that traueilling might perhaps cure superficial skarres, but not substanciall sores. For, these first motions hauing their originall from the bodie, doe sticke in the bodie, or at the most doe but cleaue to the vtter velme of the minde (as a man may say) And therefore no maruell is it, though with a sponge they be lightly washed away: Otherwise it is of olde festered affections, which hold their seat, yea & scepter in the castle of the mind. When thou hast gone far, and wandred cuerie sea and shore, thou shalt neither drowne them in the deep sea, nor burie them in the bowels of the earth. They will follow thee at an inch: And (as the Poet saith) foule care will sit close in the skirtes of footman and horsman.

One demanding of *Socrates* how it came to passe that his traueilling did him no good. Because (said hee) thou forsookest not thy selfe. So say I, that whither soeuer thou flee, thou cariest with thee a corrupt minde, no good companion. And I would to God he wer but as thy companion, I fear lest he be thy captain, in that thine affections follow not thee, but thou them,

No nor the selfe change or alteration.

Although the same do lighten and lessen some kind of tediousnes.

(a) The Stoicks call these first motions against Reason, Affections. But being reiterated and continued long, they name them diseases.

Yet old festered affections are not diminished by such outward means.

THE FIRST BOOKE  
CHAPT. III.

*But deepe settled diseases of the mind are not taken away thereby, no nor any whit mitigated: But rather reuined. That it is the mind which is sicke in vs, which must seek remedie from Wisedome and Constancie.*

An obiection  
preuented.

And in chāge  
of places ther  
seemeth to be  
some solace,  
which in  
truth is not.

But the mis-  
chiefs are ag-  
grauated  
thereby.

**Y**OU will say then, what? Doth traueilling detract no-  
thing at all from these great euils? Doth not the sight  
of faire fieldes, riuers and mountaines put a man out  
of his paines? it may be they withdraw vs from them,  
but yet for a very short time, and to no good end. Euen as  
a picture be it neuer so exquisite, delighteth the eyes a litle  
while: So all this varietie of persons and places pleaseth  
vs with the noueltie, yet but onely for a short season. This  
is a certaine declining from euils, but no auoiding of them:  
And peregrination may well be saide to slacke the bands  
of sorrow, but not to loose them. What doth it boot me  
to beholde the Sunne for a season, and immediadie to bee  
shut vp in a close prison? So it commeth to passe that these  
externall pleasures do beguile the mind, & vnder pretence  
of helping, doe greatly hurt vs.

Like as medicines that be weake in operation doe not  
purge ill humours, but prouoke them: So these vaine  
delightes doe kindle and enflame in vs the fewell of affe-  
ctions. The mind strayeth not long from it selfe, but whe-  
ther it will or not, is soone driuen home to his olde har-  
bour of aduersities. Those very townes and hilles which  
thou shalt behold for thy comfort, will reduce thee in con-  
ceit into thine owne countrie: And euen in the midst of  
thy ioyes thou shalt either see, or heare something that wil  
rub-rawe the olde gall of thy griefes: Or els if it be so that  
thou take thy ease a whiles, it wil be but short as a slumber,  
and when thou awakest thy feuer will be as it was, or  
more

more feruent. For we see that some lustes doe encrease by intermitting them, & by delays gather deeper root. Therefore (*Lipsius*) let passe these vaine, yea noysome, not remedies, but poysons: and bee content to endure the true curing corraſiues. Would you faine change countries? nay rather change your owne mind wrongfully subiected to affections, and withdrawne from the naturall obedience of his lawful Ladie, I mean R E A S O N. The corruption and defiling whereof causeth in thee this dispaire & languishing. The mind must be changed, not the place: And thou shouldst transforme thy selfe into an other manner of man, not into another place. Thou hast an earnest desire to see the fruitful country of *Austria*, the good strōg town of *Vienna*, *Dunawe* the chief riuers, with many other rare nouelties which may worke admiration in the hearers. How much better is it that thine affection were as firmly settled to the obtaining of wisdome? That thou shouldst walke through her fertile fieldes? That thou wouldest search out the very fountaine of all humaine perturbations? That thou wouldest erect fortes and bulwarks where with thou mightest be able to withstand and repulse the furious assaules of lustes? These bee the true remedies of thy disease, all the residue doe but feed and foster the same. This thy wandering into other countries shall not auail thee, it shall nothing boot thee.

The true remedie consisteth in the change and alteration of the mind.

The curious carke of travellers about external matters.

Which were better to be referred to internal: And to seeke things profitting, more than pleasing

To passe so manie townes of Greeckish land,  
Or scape by flight through mids of hostile band.

For thou shalt still finde an enemy about thee, yea euen in that closet of thine. (And therewithall hee stroke me on the breast) what good will it do thee to be settled in a peaceable place? Thou cariest warre with thee. What can a quiet habitation benefit thee? Troubles are euer about thee

troubles are alwaies companions ready at hand with vs.



Therefore we  
must resist &  
fight against  
sorrow, with  
the weapons of  
*Constancie.*

yea in thee. For this distracted mind of thine warreth, and euer will be at warre with it selfe, in coueting, in flying, in hoping, in despairing. And as they that for fear turne their backs to their enemies, are in the greater danger, hauing their face from their foe, and their backs vnarmed. So fa-  
reth it with these ignorant nouices, who neuer haue made any resistance against their affections: but by flight yeelded vnto them. But thou young man, if thou be ad-  
uised by me, shalt stand to it, and set sure footing against this thy aduersarie SORROW. About all things it behooueth thee to be CONSTANT: For by fighting many man hath gotten the victory, but none by flying.

### CHAPT. III.

*The definitions of Constancie, Patience, Right Reason, Opinion: also how Obstinacie differeth from Constancie, and Baseness of mind from Patience.*

**I**Being somewhat emboldened with these speeches of *Langius*, said vnto him, that trulie these admonitions of his were notable and worthy to bee esteemed, and that I began now to lift vp my selfe a little, but yet in vaine, as it were a man in a slumber. For surely (*Langius*) to tell you the truth, my cogitations doe slide backe againe to my countrey, and the cares of the same both priuate and publicke salt in my minde. But, if you bee able, (*a*) chase away these euill birdes that thus feed vpon me, and loose those bands of cares wherewith I am tyed fast to this Caucasus.

(a) He alludeth  
to the fable of  
*Prometheus*,  
whose heart is  
continually fed  
on by Eagles,  
and yet consu-  
meth not.

Hereto *Langius* with a smyling countenance replied: I will driue them away, and like a new borne *Hercules* will set at libertie this chayned *Prometheus*: onely giue attentiuie care to that which I shall say vnto thee. I haue exhorted thee to CONSTANCIE, and placed therein all hope

of



of thy safetic. First therefore wee must knowe what it is. **CONSTANCIE** is a right and immoueable strength of the minde, neither listid vp, nor pressed downe with externall or casuall accidentes. ] By **STRENGTH**, I vnderstande a stedfastnesse not from opinion, but from iudgement and sound reason. For I would in any case exclude **OBSTINACIE** (or as I may more fitly tearme it, **FRWARDNES**) which is a certaine hardnesse of a stubberne mind, proceeding from pride or vaine glorie. ] And this **HARDNES** is onely in one respect incident to the foward and obstinate. For they can hardlie be pressed downe, but are verie easily listid vp, not vnlike to a blown bladder, which you cannot without much adoe thrust vnder water, but is readie to leape vpwards of it selfe without helpe. Euen such is the light hardines of those men, springing of pride and too much estimation of themselues, and therefore from **OPINION**. But the true mother of Constancie is **PATIENCE**, and lowliness of mind, which is, *A voluntarie sufferance without grudging of all things whatsoeuer can happen to, or in a man* ] This being regulated by the rule of *Right Reason*, is the verie roote whereuppon is setled the high and mighty bodie of that fair oake **CONSTANCIE**. Beware here, least **OPINION** beguile thee, presenting vnto thee in steed of Patience, *A certaine abiection and basenesse of a daftardlie minde.* ] Being a foule vice, proceeding from the vile vnworthinesse of a mans owne person. But verue keepeth the meane, not suffering any excessse or defect in her actions, because it weighth all things in the ballance of **REASON**, making it the rule and squire of all her trials. Therefore we define **RIGHT REASON** to be, *A true sense and iudgement of thinges humane and diuine.* (So farre as the same appertaineth to vs.) But **OPINION** (being the contrarie to it) is defined to be, *A false*

What constancie is.

What Obstinate or forwardnes is.

Constancie springeth of Patience.

Which is defined.

And distinguished from basenesse of mind.

Constancie is a meane between haughtines and basenes of mind.

What Reason is, & what Opinion.

and frivolous coniecture of those things.]

## CHAPT. V.

*From whence Reason and Opinion doe spring. The force and effectes of them both. That one leadeth unto Constancie: This other to Inconstancy.*

**N**OW for asmuch as out of this twofolde fountaine of OPINION and REASON, floweth not only *Hardinesse* and *Weakenesse* of mind, but all things that deserue either praise or dispraise in this life: It seemeth to me that it wil be labour wel bestowed, to discourse somewhat at large of the originall and nature of them both. For as woolle before it bee endued with the perfect collours of dying is first prepared thereunto with some other kind of liquors: Euen so am I to deale with thy mind (*Lipsius*) before I aduenture to die it with this perfect purple in graine of Constancy.

A more curious and copious tractation of them both.

Man consisteth of two parts.

The minde lofty and fiery: the bodie base & earthy

Strife betweene them.

Reason striveth for the soule: Opinio for the body.

(a) If you take

First you are not ignorant that man consisteth of two parts, Soule and Body. That being the nobler part, resembleth the nature of a spirit and fire: This more base is compared to the earth. These two are ioyned together, but yet with a iarring concord, as I may say, neither doe they easily agree, especially when conttouerfie ariseth about souerainty & subiection. For either of them would bear sway, and chiefly that part which ought not. The earth aduanceth it selfe about the fire, and the dirty nature about that which is diuine. Herehence arise in man dissentions, stirs, & a cōtinual conflict of these parts warring together. The captains are, REASON and OPINION. That fighteth for the soule, being in the soule: This for, and in the body. Reason hath her offspring from heauen, yea from God: and *Seneca* gaue it a singular commendation, saying, (a) *That there*

*Ratio in homine diuini Spiritus imago.*

there was hidden in man parte of the diuine spirit. This reason is an excellent power or faculty of vnderstanding and iudgment; which is the perfection of the soule, euen as the soule is of man. The Grecians cal it (a) *Noun*, the Latines *mentem*, and as we may say ioynly, *The mind of the soule*. For, you are deceiued if you think al the soul to be *Right reason*, but that only which is vniforme, simple, without mixture, seperate from al filth or corruption: and in one word, as much as is pure & heauenlic. For albeit the soul be infected and a litle corrupted with the filth of the bodie and contagion of the senses: yet it retayneth some reliks of his first offspring, and is not without certaine cleare sparks of that pure fiery nature from whence it proceeded.

*the words precisely, this is not true; yet is ther remaining in man the image of God.*

*(a) Nō. Mens is proprie that part of the soule which is partaker of reason. What right reason is. Which yet in some sort is remainyng in man.*

Here hence come those stings of Conscience in wicked men: Here hence those inward gnawings & scourges: here hence also commeth it that the wicked euen against their wils approoue vertuous liuing and commend it. For this good part in man may somtimes be pressed down, but neuer oppressed: & these fiery sparks may be couered, but not wholly extinguished. Those little coales doe alwayes shine and shew forth themselves, lightening our darknesse, purging our vncleannes, directing our doubtfulness, guiding vs at the last to Constancy and vertue. As the Mari-gold and other flowers are by nature alwayes enclined towards the sunne: so hath Reason a respect vnto God, and to the fountaine from whence it sprang. It is resolute and immouea- ble in a good purpose, not variable in iudgment, euer shunning or seeking one and the selfe same thing: the fountaine & liuely spring of wholesome counsell & sound iudgement. To obey it is to beare rule, and to bee subiect thereunto is to haue the soueraintie in al humane affaires.

*Right reason is alwayes constant, and a ready pathway to Constancie. The praise & worthines of it.*

Whoso obeyerh her is lord of al lusts & rebellious affecti- ons: whoso hath this thred of *Thesens* may passe without



straying through all the laborinths of this life. God by this image of his commeth vnto vs, yea (which more is) euen into vs. And well said one who focuer he were, *That there is no good mind without God.*

But the other part (I meane OPINION) hath his offspring of the bodie, that is of the earth: And therefore, fauoreth nothing but of it. For though the bodie be senselesse and immoueuable of it selfe, yet it taketh life and motion from the soule: And on the other side, it representeth to the soule the shapes and formes of thinges thorough the windowes of the senses. Thus there groweth a communion and societie betwixt the soule and the bodie, but a societie (if you respect the ende) not good for the soule. For she is therby by litle and litle depriued of her dignity, addicted and coupled vnto the senses, and of this impure commixtion OPINION is ingendred in vs, *Which is nought els but a vaine image and shadow of reason: whose seat is the Sences: whose birth is the earth. Therefore being vile and base it tendeth downwards, and fauoreth nothing of high and heauenly matters. It is vaine, vncertaine, deceitfull, euill in counsell, euill in iudgement. It depriueth the mind of Constancie and veritie. To day it desireth a thing, to morrowe it desieth the same. It commendeth this, it condemneth that. It hath no respect to sound iudgement, but to please the bodie, and content the senses. And as the eye that beholdeth a thing thorough water, or thorough a myst, mistaketh it: So doth the minde which discerneth by the cloudes of opinions. This is vnto men the mother of mischieues, the authour of a confused and troublesome life. By the meanes of it wee are troubled with cares, distracted with perturbations, over-ruled by vices. Therefore, as they which would bannish tyranny out of a cittie do aboute all thinges ouerthrowe castles and fortifications therein.*

The original  
of OPINION  
is of the earth  
and the body.

How it sprin-  
geth of them

The defaithi-  
on of it.

OPINION is  
fraile, and a  
path-way to  
Inconstancie

The dispraise  
therof.

therein: So if we beare an earnest desire to haue a good mind, we must cast downe euen by the foundation this cafile of opinions. For they will cause vs to be continuallie floting on the waues of doubtfulnes, without any certain resolution, murmuring, troublesome, iniurious to God & men. As an emptie ship without balaffe is tossed and tumbled on the sea with the least blast of winde: Euen so is it with a light wandring minde, not kept steddie and poised with the balaffe of reason.

## CHAPT. VI.

*The praise of Constancie: And an earnest exhortation thereunto.*

**T**Hou seest then (*Lipsius*) that INCONSTANCY is the companion of OPINION, & that the pro-  
perts of it is to bee soone changed, and to wish that  
vndone, which a litle before it caused to be done. But

CONSTANCIE is a mate alwayes matched with reason. Vnto this therefore I do earnestlie exhort thee. Why flyest thou to these vaine outward things? This is onelie that faire beautifull *Helena* which will present vnto thee a wholefome cup of counterpoyson, wherewith thou shalt expell the memorie of all cares and sorrowes, and where-  
of when thou hast once taken a taste, being firmelie setled against all casualties, bearing thy selfe vpright in all mis-  
fortunes, neither puffed vp nor pressed downe with ei-  
ther fortune, thou maist challenge to thy selfe that great title, the neereft that man can haue to God, *To be immoune-  
able.*

An exhorta-  
tion to Con-  
stancie.

The fruit and  
force thereof

Hast thou not seene in the armes and targets of some men of our time, that lofty poesie: (a) *Neither with hope, nor  
with feare, It shal agree to thee: Thou shalt be a king indeed*

(a) *Nece. spe. m. s.*  
*metu*

Especiallye a-  
gainst sorrow  
& trouble.

free indeed, only subiect vnto Cod, enfranchized from the seruite yoke of Fortune and affections. As some riuers are said to runne through the sea and yet keepe their streame fresh: So shalt thou passe thorough the confused tumultes of this world, and not be infected with any brynish saltnes of this Sea of sorrowes. Art thou like to bee cast downe? **CONSTANCY** wil lift thee vp. Doest thou stagger in doubtfulnessse? She holdeth thee fast. Art thou in daunger of fire or water? She will comfort thee, and bring thee backe from the pits brinke: onely take vnto thee a good courage, steere thy ship into this porte, where is securitie and quietnesse, a refuge and sanctuarie against all turmoyles and troubles: where if thou hast once moored thy ship, let thy country not onely be troubled, but euen shaken at the foundation, thou shalt remaine vnmoued: let showres, thunders, lighteninges, and tempestes fall round about thee, thou shalt crie boldlie with a loude voyce, (a) *I lie at rest amid the waues.*

(a) *Medius  
tranquillus in  
vadis.*

## CHAPT. VII.

*What, and howe manie thinges doe disturbe Constancie. That outward good and euill thinges doe it. Euils are of two sortes, Publike and Priuate: Of these two, Publike euils seeme most greenous and dangerous.*

**L***Angius* hauing vttered these wordes with a more earnest voyce and countenance than accustomed, I was somewhat enflamed with a sparke of this good fire. And then, my Father, said I, (let me rightly without dissimulation call you so) leade me and learne me as you list: Direct and correct me: I am your patient prepared to admit any kinde of curing, be it by razor or fire, to cut or seare. I must vse both those meanes, (said *Langius*) for that



that one while the stubble of false opinions is to be burned away, and another while the tender slips of affections to be cut off by the root. But tel me, whether had you rather walke or sit? Sitting would please mee best, (quoth I) for I beginne to be hote. So then *Langius* commaunded stooles to bee brought into the portch, and I sitting close by him, hee turned himselfe towards mee, and began his talke in this maner.

Hitherto (*Lipsius*) haue I laide the foundation wherupon I might erect the building of my future communication. Now, if it please you, I will come neerer the matter, and enquire the causes of your sorrowe, for I must touch the sore with my hande. There bee two things that doe assault this castle of Constancie in vs, FALSE GOODS, and FALSE EVILS: I define them both to bee, *Such things as are not in vs, but about vs: And which properlie doe not helpe nor hurte the inner man, that is, the minde.*] Wherefore, I may not call those things good or euill simplie in subiect and in definition: But I confesse they are such in opinion, and by the iudgement of the common people. In the firste ranke I place Riches, Honour, Authoritie, Health, long life. In the second, Pouertie, Infamie, lacke of promotion, Sicknesse, death. And to comprehend all in one word, whatsoever els is accidentall and happeneth outwardlie.

two enemies  
of Constacia.  
Fals goods  
Falsc euils.

From these two rootes doe spring foure principall affections which doe greatly disquiet the life of man. DESIRE and IOY: FEARE and SORROW. The two first haue respect to some supposed or imagined good: The two latter vnto euill. Al of them do hurt and distemper the mind, and without timely preuention doe bring it out of al order: yet not each of them in like sort. For whereas the quietnesse and constancie of the minde resteth, as it

Foure chiefe  
affections  
opposite among  
themselves, to  
which al the  
rest are refer-  
red.

How they  
trouble Con-  
stancie:  
False goods  
by desire and  
ioy.

False euils  
with fear and  
sorrow.

Two sorts of  
euils, publike  
and priuate.

The distincti-  
on proued,  
and applyed  
to the matter

The griepe  
that groweth  
of publike  
miserie, is  
most heauy  
and happene-  
th often.

Because it ac-  
faulteth with  
violence.

Because it be-  
guileth vs.  
with a shew  
of honestie.

were, in an euen ballance, these affections do hinder this vpright poise and euennesse: Some of them by puffing vp the minde, others by pressing it downe too much: But here I will let passe to speake of false goods, which lift vp the minde aboue measure (because thy disease, proceedeth from another humour) and will come to false euils, which are of two sortes, *Publike* and *Priuate*. *Publike* are those, *The sense and feeling whereof toucheth manie persons at one time. Priuate doe touch some priuate men.* Of the first kinde are warre, pestilence, famine, tyrannie, slaughters, and such like. Of the second be Sorrowe, pouertie, infamie, death, and whatsoeuer els of like nature that may befall any one man,

I take it there is good cause for me thus to distinguish them, because we sorrow after an other sort at the miserie of our countrie, the banishment and destruction of a multitude, than of one person alone. Besides that, the griefes that growe of publike and priuate aduersities are different, but yet the first sort are more heauie and take deeper roote in vs. For wee are all subiect to those common calamities, either for that they come together in heapes, and so with the multitude oppresse such as oppose themselues against them: or rather because they beguile vs by subtiltie, in that we perceiue not how our mind is diseased by the apprehension of them. Behold if a man bee ouercome with any priuate grief, he must confesse therein his frailtie and infirmitie: especiallie if he reclaim not himselfe, then is he without excuse. Contrarily, we are so far from confessing a fault in being disquieted at publike calamities, that some will boast thereof, and account it for a praise: for they terme it pietie and compassion. So that this common contagion is now reckoned among the catalogue of vertues, yea and almost honored as a God.



Poets and Orators do euerie wher extol to the skies a feruent affection to our countrey: neither doe I disallowe it, but hold and maintaine that it ought to be tempered with moderation: otherwise it is a vice, a note of intemperancie, a deposing of the mind from his right seat. On the other side I confesse it to bee a grieuous maladie, and of great force to mooue a man, because the sorrow that proceedeth therehence is manifold, in respect of thy selfe and of others. And to make the matter more plaine by example: See how thy country of <sup>(a)</sup>Belgica is afflicted with sundrie calamities, and swinged on euery side with the scorching flame of ciuill warres: The fieldes are wasted and spoyled, townes are ouerthrowne and burned, men taken captiue and murdered, women defiled, virgins defloured, with such other like miseries as follow after warres. Art thou not griued herewith? Yes I am sure, and griued diuerslie, for thy self, for thy countrymen, and for thy countrey. Thy owne losses trouble thee: the miserie and slaughter of thy neighbours: the calamitie and ouerthrow of thy countrey. One while thou maist crie out with the Poet, *O unhappie wretch, that I am.* Another while, *Alasse that so manie of my countrimen should suffer such affliction by the enemies hand.* Another while, *O my father, O my countrey:* And who so is not mooued with these matters, nor oppessed with the multitude of so manie and manifold miseries, must eyther be very stayed and wise, or els very hard hearted.

Because also  
it is mani-  
fold.  
Which is pro-  
duced by ex-  
ample.  
(a) Or Flaunders.

*Mis miserum  
Pater! O Patria*

### CHAPT. VIII.

*A preuention against publike euils: But first of all, three affections are restrained. And of those three, particularly in this chapter is repressed a kind of vaine glorious dissimulation, wherby men that lament their owne priuate misfortunes, would seeme that they bewaile the common calamities.*

D

What



**W**Hat thinke you (*Lipsius*) haue I not betrayed  
**CONSTANCIE** into your hands in plea-  
 ding the cause of your sorrow? Not so: But here-  
 in I haue plaide the part of a good Captaine, in  
 trayning out al your troups into the field to the end I may  
 fight it out manfully with them. But first I wil begin with  
 light skirmishes, and afterwards ioyne with you in plaine  
 battel. In skirmishing I am to assault *foot by foot* (as the An-  
 cients speake) three affectiōs vtter enemies to this our  
**CONSTANCIE**. **DISSIMVLATION**, **PIETY**,  
**COMMISERATION** or **PITTY**. I wil begin with the  
 first of them. Thou sayest thou canst not endure to see these  
 publik miseries, that it is a grief, yea euen a death vnto thee.  
 Speak you that from your heart, or onelic from the teeth  
 outward? herewithal I being to what angry, asked whe-  
 ther he iested or gybed with mee. Nay (*quoth Langius*.) I  
 speake in good earnest for that many of your crue doe be-  
 guile the physitiāns, making them beleue that the publike  
 cuilles doe grieue them, when their private losses are the  
 true cause. I demand therefore againe, whether the care  
 (a) *Quæ te nunc* (a) *which now doth boile and bubble in thy breast,* be for thy coun-  
 coquit, & 2 er- tries sake, or for thy own? what (said I) do you make a que-  
 sat sub pectore sion of that? Surely (*Langius*) for my countries sake alone  
 fixa. *Summa*. am I thus disquieted. See it be so (*quoth he*) for I maruel that  
 ther should be in thee such an excellent sincere dutie which  
 few attain vnto. I deny not but that most men do cōplaine  
 of common calamities, neither is there any kind of sorrow  
 so vsuall as this in the tongues of people. But examine the  
 matter to the quick, & you shall find many times great dif-  
 ference betwixt the tongue and the heart. Those wordes,  
*My countries calamitie afflicts me,* carrie with the more vain-  
 glory than veritie. And as it is recorded in histories of *Po-  
 lus* a notable stage-player, that playing his part on the stage  
 where-

Three affe-  
 ctions ene-  
 mies to Con-  
 stancie.  
 First faining,  
 or dissimula-  
 tion.

Which hol-  
 deth manie  
 men for vain  
 glorie.

(a) *Quæ te nunc*  
 coquit, & 2 er-  
 sat sub pectore  
 fixa. *Summa*.

Because they  
 bewaile their  
 owne private  
 miseries, and  
 not publike

wherein it behooued him to expresse some great sorrow, he brought with him priuily the bones of his dead son, & so the remembrance therof caused him to fill the theater with true teares indeed. Euen so may I say by the most part of you. You play a Comedy, & vnder the person of your country, you bewail with tears your private miseries. One saith *The whol world is a stage-play*. Trulie in this case it is so. Some crie out, These ciuil warres torment vs, the blood of innocents spilt, the losse of lawes and libertie. Is it so? I see your sorrow indeed, but the cause I must search out more narrowly. Is it for the common-wealths sake? O player, put off thy vizard: thy selfe art the cause therof. We see oftentimes the country Boores trembling and running together with earnest prayers when any sudden misfortune or insurrection approacheth, but as soone as the daunger is past, examine the weland you shal perceiue that euerie one was affraid of his owne field & corn. If fire should happen to be kindled in this cittie. we should haue a generall out-cry: the lame & almost the blind would hasten to help quench it. What think you? For their countries sake? Aske them and you shall see, it was, because the losse would haue redounded to al, or at the least, the feare thereof. So falleth it out in this case. Publike euils doe mooue & disquiet many men, not for that the harme toucheth a great number, but because themselves are of that number.

Therefore we must search the inward causes of these sorrowes.

### CHAPT. IX.

*The visarde of Dissimulation is more plainlie discovered, by examples. By the way mention is made, of our true countrie. Also the malice of men reioycing at other mens harmes. when they themselves be without danger thereof.*

**V**Wherefore your selfe shall sit as iudge in this cause, but yet with the vaile remoued from your face, You feare

We bewaile  
publike euils  
not as they  
are publike.  
But because  
our priuate  
losses are ioi-  
ned thereto,  
or at least the  
fear thereof.

the warre. I know it. Why? Because warre draweth with  
it punishment and destruction. To whome? To others at  
this present, but it may be shortly to you. Behold the head,  
behold the fountaine of thy griefe: For as a thunder-bolt  
hauing stricken one man, makech all that stood neere him  
to tremble: So in these vniuersall and pulike calamities, the  
losse toucheth few, the feare redoundeth to all, which feare  
if it were away, there would be no place for sorrowe. Be-  
hold, if warre be among the Ethiopians or Indians, it mo-  
(*Flanders*) ueth thee not: (thou art out of danger) if it bee in (*Belgia*)  
thou weepest, cryest out, rubbest thy forehead, and smitest  
thy thigh. But now if it were so that thou diddest bewaile  
the publike euils as publike, and for themselves, there  
should be no difference had of thee betweene those coun-  
tries and this.

An obiection  
preuented,  
touching our  
country.

Which stret-  
cheth farther  
than the com-  
mon people  
do take it.  
And it is O-  
pinion only  
that closeth  
it in such a  
strait.

Thou wilt say, it is none of my country. O foole: Are  
not they men, sprung first out of the same stock with thee?  
liuing vnder the same globe of heauen? vpon the same  
molde of the earth? Thinkest thou that this little plot of  
ground enuironed by such and such mountaines, compas-  
sed with this or that riuer, is thy country? thou art decei-  
ued. The whole world is our country, wherefoeuer is  
the race of mankind sprong of that celestiaall seed. *Socrates*  
being asked of what country he was, answered: *Of the*  
*world*. For a high and lostie mind will not suffer it selfe to  
be penned by OPINION within such narrow bounds.  
but conceiueth and knoweth the whole worlde to bee his  
owne. We scorn and laugh at fooles, who suffer their ma-  
sters to tie them with a strawe or small threed to a poste,  
where they stand as if they were fettered fast with iron.  
Our follie is not inferiour to theirs, who with the weake-  
linke of Opinion are wedded to one corner of the world.

But to let passe these deepe arguments (which I doubt  
how



how thou wilt conceiue of them) I demand, if God would assure thee in the mids of these broyles, that thy fields shuld be vnspoyled, thy house and substance in safetie, and thy selfe on some high mountaine placed out of all daunger: wouldest thou lament for all this? I am loth to affirme it of thee, but certaine I am there be many that would bee glad thereof, and fixed their eyes greedilie with the spectacle of such bloody butcheries. Why turnest thou aside? Why maruellest thou hereat? Such is the naturall corruption of man, that (as the Poet saith) it *reioyceth at other mens harmes*. And as some apples there be though bitter in the bellie, yet relishing sweet in taste: So are other mens miseries, we our selues being free from them, Suppose a man be on the shore benolding a shipwrecke, it will mooue him somewhat, yet truelie not without an inwarde tickling of his mind, because he seeth other mens danger, himselfe being in security. But if he in person were in that distressed ship, he would be touched with an other maner of griefe. Euen so verelie is it in this case, let vs say, or make what shew we list to the contrarie. (a) For we bewaile our own mistortunes earnestlie and from the heart, but publike calamities in wordes onlie and for fashions sake. Wherefore (*Lipsius*) take away these stage-hangings, draw backe the curtain that is afore thee, and without al counterfeiting or dissimulation, acquaint vs with the true cause of thy sorrow.

### CHAPT. X.

*A complaint against the former sharpe reprehension of Langius: But he addeth that it is the part of a Philosopher so to speake freelie. Hee endeouureth to confute the former disputation speaking of dutie and loue to our countrey.*

But it is shewed that we sorrow not for the loue of this narrow countrie of ours.

Our malice at the harmes of others, proueth it to bee true.

(a) *Pindarus hath this saying Our ouer private misfortune is alwaies a like grieuous vnto vs: but an innocent and harmelesse hart toward others is a cleane or pure vessel.*

**T**His first skirmish seemed to mee verie hot, wherefore interrupting him I replyed, what libertie of speech is this that you vse? Yea what bitter taunting? Do you in this wise pinch and pricke me? I may well answere you with *Enripides* wordes,

no aquitudinem  
as. satis superque  
dilectus manor.

*Adde not more grieve vnto my strong disease,*

*I suffer more (God wot) than is mine ease. — μή νοδουντί μο*

*νόσον / προσησ' ἔλις γὰρ συμφορὰ βαρύνομαι.*

*Langius* smiling at this, I perceiue then (said he) you expect Water cakes or sweete wine at my handes: but ere whiles you desired either fire or razor: and therein you did well. For I am a Philosopher (*Lipsius*) not a Fidler: my purpose is to teach, not to entice thee: To profite, not to please thee: To make thee blush, rather than smile: And to make thee penitent, not insolent. *The schoole of a Philosopher is as a Physitians shoppe* (So said *Rufus* once) whether we must repaire for health, not for pleasure. That Physitian dallyeth not, neyther flattereth: but pearceth, prickeh, razeth, and with the sauoric salt of good talke sucketh out the filthie corruptions of the minde. Wherefore looke not he reafter of me for Roses, Oyles, or Pepper: but for thornes, Lancing tooles, wormwood, and sharp vnegger.

The sharpe  
speech of a  
wise man ten  
deth to whol  
somes, not  
delightfulness

Here I tooke him vp, saying: Truly (*Langius*) if I may be so bold as to be plaine with you, you deale scarce wel or charitable with me: Neither do you like a stout champion ouercome me in lawfull striuing, but vndermine mee by sleighes and subtilties, Saying that I bewayle my countries calamities faynedly, and not for good will to it: wherein you doe mee wrong. For let me confesse freely that I haue some maner of regard to my selfe, yet not wholly. I lament the case of my countrey principallie, and so will doe, although the danger she is in extend not in any sort vnto me. Good reason is there why I should doe so. For she it is that first receiued mee into  
this

By occasion  
he passeth to  
treat of the  
second affec-  
tion:

olis  
ratio.

*\*Ἱατροῦν, ἔ' ἀνδρες, τὸ τῆ φιλοσόφου χολεῖον, i. e.  
officina medici, ο' vni, φιλοσοφῆς Schola off.*

this world, and after that nourished and bred me, being (by common consent of all nations) our most auncient and holiest mother. But you assigne me the whole world for my countrey. Who denies that? Yet withall you may not gainsay, that besides this large and vniuersall countree, there is an other more neere and deare vnto mee, to the which I am tyed by a secrete bond of nature, except you thinke there bee no vertue perswasive nor attractiue in that natie soyl which wee first touched with our bodies, and pressed with our feete: where we first drew our breath: where we cryed in our infancie, played in our childhood, and exercised our selues in manhood. Where our eyes are acquainted with the firmament, floods, and fieldes: where haue bene by a long continuance of discents our kinsfolke, friends and companions, and so manie occasions of ioy besides, which I may expect in vaine in another part of the world: Neither is all this the slender pack-thred of OPINION (as you would haue it seeme) but the strong fetters of nature her selfe. Look vpon all other liuing creatures. The wilde beasts doe both knowe and loue their dennes: and birdes their neastes. Fishes in the great and endlessse Ocean sea, desire to enioy some certaine part thereof. What neede I speake of men? Who whether they bee ciuill or barbarous, are so addicted to this their natie soyle, that whosoever beareth the face of a man, will neuer refuse to die for it, and in it. Therefore (Langius) this new found curious phylsophie of yours, I neither perceiue as yet the depth of it, nor mind to make profession thereof. I will listen rather to that true saying of *Euripides*,

The praise of our countrey in particular: And our conjunction with it by nature:

Likewise in other Creatures as well as men.

*— ἀναγκάτως ἔχει  
 Παρτίδῳ ἐπὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πατριῶτα, ἰ. ἢ. Imperial  
 Necessitie forceth euerie might,  
 To lone his countrie with all his might.*

*Non sinitas amant patriam cunctos.*



## CHAPT. XI.

*Here is confuted the second affection of too much loue to our countrey: which loue is fallſie tearmed Pietie. Whence this affection ſpringeth, and what is our countrie properlie and trulie.*

The former all-gations diſprooued  
(a) Antonius ſurnamed Pius is meant.

This affection is verie vnſitly tearmed by the name of Pietie.

What Pietie is.  
(b) For there are reckoned 3 kinds of pietie. Towards God our countrey & parents.

Our countrey deſerueth not the title of mother.

**T**hen *Langius* ſmiling replied: Certes you are a meruellous pietous young man: and I feare me that the (a) brother of *Mancus Antonius* is nowe in danger to be deſtroyed of his ſurname. But it falleth out ſitlie that this affection offereth it ſelf in ſallying before his Enſigne: I will aſſault him therefore, and onerthrowe him lightlie. And firſt will I take from him the ſpoyle of that precious garment wherewith he is vnworthilie attyred.

This affection to our Countrey is commonlie called *Pietas*, that is **P I E T Y**: why it ſhould bee ſo named I neither ſee, nor can ſuffer it. For, wherefore ſhould wee call it by the name of **P I E T Y**, which is an excellent vertue, and properly nothing els but *Alawfull and due honour and loue towards God and our parents.*] Why ſhould our countrey be placed in the (b) mids betweene theſe? Becauſe (ſay they) it is our moſt ancient and holieſt mother. O fooles, iniurious to reaſon and nature her ſelfe: is ſhe our mother? How? or wherefore? Truly I ſee no ſuch reaſon: And if thou (*Lipſius*) if thou be ſharper ſighted than I, lighten my darke ſenſes. Is it becauſe ſhe firſt receiued vs into this worlde? (for ſo thou ſemedſt to affirm before) So might anie *Tauerne* or *Inne-keeper*. Is it becauſe ſhe cheriſheth vs? much better doth ſome ſillie maide or nurſe. Is it becauſe ſhe nourriſheth vs? So do cattell, trees, and corne daylie: And (among greater ſubſtances which doe borrow nothing of the earth) the firmament, aire, and water. Finallic, change thou thy habitation, and euerie other

part

part of the world will doe thus much for thee. These are floting, and fleeting wordes, fauoring of nothing, but an vnpleasant iuice of POPVLAR OPINION. They alone are our parents that begat, shaped and bore vs: wee be seed of their seede, bloud of their blood, and flesh of their flesh. If any of these thinges agree any wayes to our countrey, then I confesse that I goe about wrongfully to bereaue it of this dutie of P I E T Y.

You will say that great learned clarkes haue so spoken of it. They haue indeed so spoken, following the common opinion, but not that they were so perswaded themselves. But if thou wilt follow the trueth, thou shalt attribute that sacred and high title to God, and also, if thou thinke good, to our parentes: But as for this affection to our countrie (being first bridled and restrayned to a mean) let it be contented in Gods name with the title of LOVE or CHARITY.

We owe piety to God, and to our parentes: But loue to our country.

Yet is this onely a contention about the name; let vs come neerer to the thing it selfe. Which I do not wholly take away, but temperate, and as it were, scarrifie it with the launcelot of RIGHT REASON. For as a vine if it be not pruned, spreadeth it selfe too farre abroad: So do affections flie about with full sayle being blowne with the plausible pusses of popularitie.

Which also must be tempered.

And notwithstanding here by the way I confesse (for I am not degenerated from a man, nor from a citizen) I confesse, I say, that euerie one of vs hath an inclination and good-will to his lesser country. The causes wherof I perceiue are to you vnknowne. You would haue it to be from nature: But the truth is, it groweth of custome, or of some decree & ordinance. For alter that men forsook their wild and sauadge maner of liuing, and began to build houses and walled townes, to ioyne in societie, and to vse meanes of

From whence that loue springeth. From custome not from nature.



Yea the cause  
why we loue  
our countie  
is, for that we  
haue in it  
somewhat of  
our owne.

And so the ori-  
ginal there-  
of is, loue of  
our felues.

Strengthened  
and increased  
by custome  
and law: And  
that for the  
better socie-  
tie of men.

Euident ar-  
guments, that  
it is of custo-  
me, not of nature  
first in that  
all men are  
not equallic  
touched ther-  
with.

sensue & defensue: Behold then a certaine communi on ne-  
cessarily began among them, and a social participation of di-  
uers things. They parted the earth between them with cer-  
taine limits & bounds: They had Temples in common: also  
market places, treasuries, seates of iudgement: And prin-  
cipallie ceremonies, rites, lawes. All which thinges our gree-  
dinesse began in time so to esteeme & make account of, as if  
they were our owne in particular: and so be they in some  
sort, for that every private citizen had some interest in them,  
neither did they differ from private possessions, sauing that  
they were not wholly in one mans power. This consociati-  
on and fellowship gaue the forme and fashion to a new ere-  
cted state, which now we call properly the COMMON-  
WEALTH, or *our Countrey*. Wherein when men saue  
the chiefest stay of each persons safetie to consist, lawes were  
enacted for the succour and defence thereof: Or at the least  
such customes were receiued by tradition from the prede-  
cessors to their posteritie, that grewe to be of like force as  
lawes. Herehence it cometh to passe that we reioyce at  
the good of the common-wealth, and be sorie for her harm:  
Because our owne priuate goods are secure by her safetie,  
and are lost by her ouerthrowe. From this fountaine doe  
spring the streames of our good-will and loue toward  
her: which affection in respect of the common good (the se-  
crete providence of God leading thereunto) our ancestors  
increased, by all possible meanes establishing and maintai-  
ning the maiesty of their country.

It appeareth therefore in my iudgment, that this affection  
had his beginning from custome, and not from nature, as  
you pretend. Els why should not the same measure of that  
affection be indifferently in all men: why should the Nobility  
& rich men haue more care of their country, than the poore  
people, who commonly take care for their priuate matters,

but



but none at all for the publike affaires: which thing falleth out otherwise in all passions that be gouerned by the instinct of nature. Finally what reason can you alleadge that so small and light an occasion should oftentimes asswage, yea wholly extinguish it? See howe euerie day some for anger, some for loue, some for ambition forsake their countrie? And what a multitude are drawn away by that Idol *Lucre*? How many Italians forsaking *Italie* the Queen of countries only for greedinesse of gaine haue remooued their dwellings into *France* *Gerusalemie*, yea euen into *Sarmatia*? Howe many thousande Spaniards doth ambition draw daylie into another worlde from vs. These arguments prooue inuincible that the band whereby we are linked thus to our countrie is but external and accidentall, in that it is so easilie broken by one inordinate lust.

Secondlie in that it is easilie diminished, yea wholly extinguished.

Moreouer (*Lipsius*) you are greatlie deceiued in describing this countrie of ours: For youyte it verie narrowlie to that natie soyle where we were borne and had our education, with other like fruolous allegations, from whence you labour in vaine to picke out naturall causes of our affection toward her. And if it be the natie soyle where wee were borne, that deserueth this title of our countrie, then were

The opinion touching our particular country is confuted.

It is not our natie soyle.

*Brusselles* only my countrey, and *Iffcanum* yours; and to some other man, a poore cottage or cell: yea vnto many, not so much as a cottage, but a wood, or els the open field; what the? Shal my good wil, & affection bee shut vp within those narrow wals: Shal I settle my disposition & loue vpon one town or house as my countrey? what folly were that? You see also that by your description none are happier than those that are borne in the woods and open fields, which are alwaies flourishing, & seldome or neuer be subiect to desolation or wasting. No, no, our countrey is not as you take it, But it is, *Some*

What our country properly & truly is.

prince, or one lawe: which I confesse we ought to loue, to defend, and to die for it: yet must it not driue vs to lament, waile and dispaire. Well said the Poet.

*A happie quarrell is it and a good,*

*For Countries cause to spend our dearest blood.*

It must be  
defended  
manfullie.

And not effe-  
minately be-  
wailed.

He saith not that we should weep and lament, but die for our countrie. For we must so far forth bee good common-wealths-men, that we also retain the person of good and honest men, which we loose if we betake vs to childish and womanlike lamentation.

The decree  
of all wise  
men touch-  
ing our coun-  
try.

Last of all (*Lipsius*) I woulde haue thee learne this one hidden and deep mysterie, that if we respect the whole nature of man, all these earthlie countries are vaine and falsely so termed, except only in respect of the body, and not of the minde or soule, which descending downe from that highest habitation, deemeth all the whole earth as a gaole or prison: but heauen is our true and rightfull countrey, whether let vs aduance all our cogitations, that wee may free lie say with *Anaxagoras* to such as foolishly aske vs, whether we haue no regarde to our countrie? yes verelie but yonder is our countrie, lifting our finger and mind vp towards heauen.

## CHAPT. XII.

*The third affection bridled, which is Commiseration or pittying, being a vice. It is distinguished from Mercie. Howe, and how far forth we ought to use it.*

**L** *Angius* with this conference hauing scattered abroade some darke mystes from my mind: I bespake him thus. My Father, what by admonitions, and what by instructions you haue done mee great good; so that it seemeth I am now able to moderate my affection towards the nature

tiue foyle, or common-wealth wherein I was borne: But not to wards the persons of my fellow-citizens and countrymen. For how should I not be touched and tormented with the calamities of my country for my countrymens sake, who are tossed in this sea of aduersities, and doe perish by sundry misfortunes? *Largius* taking my tale by the end: This is not (quoth he) properlie sorrowe, but rather commiseration or pittying, which must be despised of him that is wise and constant; whom nothing so much belecemeth as steddinesse and stedfastnes of courage, which he cannot retain, if he be cast downe not only with his owne mishaps, but also at other mens. What Stoycical subtilties are these? (said I.) Will you not haue me to pittie an other mans case? Surelie it is a vertue among good men, and such as hatie a true religion in them.

A passage to the affection of commiseration or pittying.

Which is not incident to a wiseman.

I denie that (said *Largius*) and I trust no good man will be offended with me, if I purge the mind of this maladie: for it is a verie daungerous contagion, and I iudge him not far from a pitiful state, that is subiect to pittying of others. As it is a token of naughtie eyes to waxe watry when they behold other beare eyes: so is it of the mind that mourneth at euerie other mans mourning. It is defined to be, *The fault of an abiekt and base mind, cast downe at the shew of anothers mishap.* What then? are we so vnkind and voyd of humanitie, that we would haue no man to be moued at anothers miserie? Yes, I allowe that we be mooued to help them, not to bewaile or waile with them. I permit M E R C Y, but not pittying I call M E R C Y, *An inclination of the minde to succour the necessitie or miserie of another.* This is that vertue (*Lippinus*) which thou seest through a cloud, and in steed whereof P I T T Y intrudeth her selfe vnto thee.

Neither is it agreeable to a Christian if it be rightlie considered

What pittie is

Mercy must be shewed, what it is.

But thou wilt say, it is incident to mans nature to be mooued with affection and pittie. Be it so: yet certainlie it is



The differēce  
betwene both

The effectes  
of them both

not decent and right. Thinkest thou that anie vertue consisteth in softnesse and abiection of the minde? In sorrowing? In sighing? in sobbing, together, with such as weep? It cannot be so. For I will shew thee some greedy old wiuers and couctous misers, from whose eyes thou maist sooner wring a thousand teares, than one small pennie out of their purses. But he that is trulie mercifull in deed, wil not be mone or pittie the condition of distressed persons, but yet wil do more to helpe and succour them, than the other. He vvil beholde mens miseries with the eye of compalsion, yet ruled and guided by reason. He will speake vnto them with a sad countenance, but not mourning or prostrate. He will comfort hartelie, and help liberally. He vvil performe more in vvorkes than in words: and will stretch out vnto the poore and needy his hand, rather than his tongue. All this will he doe with discretion and care, that he infect not himselfe with other mens contagion: and that (as Fencers vse to say) hee beare not others blowes vpon his owne ribbes. What is here fauouring of inhumanitie or churlishnesse? Euen so all vvildome seemeth austere and rigorous at the first view. But if you consider thoroughlie of it, you shall finde the same to be meeke, gentle: yea more milde and amiable than *Venus* her selfe. Let this suffice touching the three fore rehearsed affectiōs: vvhome if I haue in part expelled from thee, it will greatly auaille me to get the victorie in the battell that shall ensue.

Manie of the  
Stoicks paradoxes, are no  
impossibilitie.

### CHAPT. XIII.

*The former impedimentes or lettes being remooued, wee come in good earnest to the extenuating or taking away of publike euils: which is assayed by foure principall arguments. Firste here is spoken of Providence, which is proued to be in, and ouer all humane affaires.*

**I** Come nowe from skirmishes to handie-gripes, and from light bickerings, to the maine battell. I vwill leade forth all my souldiers in order vnder their Ensignes, diuiding them into fower troupes. First, I vwill prooue that these publike euilles are imposed vpon vs by God himselfe. Secondlie, that they be necessarie and by destinye. Thidly, that they are profitable for vs. Finallie, that they be neither grieuous, nor straunge. These troupes if they discharge their partes each one in his place, can the whole arme of your **S O R R R O W** make anie resistance, or once open the mouth against me? No trulie: I must haue the victorie. In token whereof sound the Trum-pets, and strike vp the drummes.

The maine  
battel in the  
behalte of  
*Constancie*.

The diuision  
and order of  
the fower  
principal  
reasons.

Whereas (*Lipsius*) all affections that doe disturbe mans life, procede from a minde disempered and voyde of reason: yet none of them more (in my conceit) than that sorrowe vvhich is conceiued for the Common-wealthes sake. For all others haue some finall cause and scope vvhether they tende (as the Louer to enioy his desire: The angry man, to bee reuenged: The conetous churle to get; and so forth) Onelie this hath no ende proposed vnto it. And to restraine my talke vnto some certaintie, thou (*Lipsius*) bevvaylest the state of thy countrey decaying: Tell me to vvhath effect? Or vvhath hopest thou to obtaine thereby? To amend that vvhich is amisse? To preferue that vvhich is about to perish? Or by vveeping to take avay the plague or punishment that hangeth ouer thy countrey? None of all these but onely that thou maist say with the common sort, **I AM SORIE**: In all other respects thy mourning is in vaine and to no purpose. For that thing which is past, God himselfe vwould not haue to be done againe.

Of all griefs  
that is the  
fondest,  
which is take  
for publike  
calamities.

Because it is  
done to no  
end, and is  
without hope



It is also wicked because it contendeth against God.

Fortune banished out of all humane affaires.

Gods providence confirmed.

Whose greatness, quicknes and power are infinite.

Neither is this weeping of thine, vaine onely, but also wicked and vngodlie, if it be rightly considered. For you knowe well that there is an eternall Spirite, whome wee call G O D, which ruleth, guideth and gouerneth the rolling Sphæares of heauen, the manifold courses of the Stars and Planets, the successiu alterations of the Elements, finally, all things whatsoeuer in heauen and earth. Thinkest thou that CHAVNCE or FORTVNE beareth any sway in this excellent frame of the world? Or that the affaires of mortall men are caried headlong by chance-medley? I wot well thou thinkest not so, nor any man els that hath either wilddome or wit in his head. It is the voyce of nature it selfe, and which way so euer we turne our eyes or mindes, all things both mortall and immortall, heauenlie and earthly, sensible and insensible do with open mouth crie out and asfirme, that there is somewhat far aboue vs that created and formed these so many wonderfull workes, which also continuallie gouerneth & preserueth the same. This is G O D, to whose absolute perfection nothing is more agreable than to bee both able and willing to take the care and charge of his owne workmanship. And why should not he be willing, seeing he is the best of all? Why should he not be able, seeing he is the mightiest of all? In to much þ there is no strength aboue him, no nor any but that proceedeth from him, neither is he letted or troubled with the greatnes or variety of all these things. For this eternall light casteth foorth his bright beames euery where, and in a moment pearceth euen into the bosome and bottome of the heauens earth and sea: It is not only president ouer all things, but present in them. And no maruel. What a great part of the world doth the Sun lighten at once? What a masse of matter can our minde comprehend at once? O fooles: Can not he that made this Sun & this mind perceiue and



and conceiue far more things than they: Well and diuinely spake (a) one that had smal skil in Diuinitie: *As is the Pilot in a ship, the Car-man to his waine, the Chaunter in a quire, the law in a Common-wealth, and the Generall in an Armie: So is God in the world. Herein onelie is the difference, that their charge is to them labour some, grieuous, and painfull: But God ruleth without all paine, and labour, or bodilie straining.* Wherefore (Lipsius) there is in God, *A watchfull and continuall care (yet without cark) whereby he beholdeth, searcheth, and knoweth all things: And knowing them, disposeth and ordereth the same by an immutable course to vs unknowne.* And this is it which here I call P R O - V I D E N C E, whereof some man through infirmitie may grudge or complaine: but not doubt, except he be benumbed of his senses, and befotted against nature.

*† Pro diu' et k*  
 (a) *Aristo-  
 tie in his willb  
 book of the  
 world; which  
 bene quote*  
 A description  
 of Gods pro-  
 uidence.

### CHAPT. XIII.

*That nothing is here done but by the becks of this Prouidence.*

*That by it desolations come upon men and citties: therefore we doe not the partes of good and godly men to murmure or mourne for them. Finally, an exhortation to obey God, against whome we strive vnaduisedly, and in vaine.*

**I**F you conceiue this rightlie, and doe beleeuē hartilie that this gouerning facultie insinuateth it selte, and (as the Poet speaketh) *passeth through euery path of sea and eke of shore,* I see not what further place can bee left for your griefe and grudging. For euen the self same fore-seeing intelligence which turneth about the heauen dayly, which causeth the sunne to rise and set, which bringeth foorth and shutteth vp the fruites of the earth, produceth all these calamities and changes which thou so much maruellest and mutterest at. Think you that God giueth vs onely pleasing and profitable things? No: he sendeth likewise noisome and

An argument  
 to the present  
 matter, from  
 Gods prouidence.

For from it,  
 destructions  
 and calamities  
 are sent.

**F** hurt-

hurtfull: Neither is any thing contrived, tossed or turned (sinne onely excepted) in this huge Theater of the worlde, the cause and fountaine whereof proceedeth not from that

*Pindarus.*

firste cause of causes: for as *Pindarus* saith well, *The dispensers and doers of all things are in heauen.* And there is let

*Homer.*

downe from thence a golden chaine (as *Homer* expresth by a figment) wherto all these inferior things are fast linked. That the earth hath opened her mouth and swallowed vp some townes, came of Gods prouidence. That other-where the plague hath consumed many thousandes of people, proceedeth of the same cause. That slaughters, war and tyranny rage in the *Low countries*, therence also commeth it to passe. From heauen (*Lipsius*) from heauen are all these

*Euripides.*

miserics sent, Therefore *Euripides* sayd wel and wisely, *that all calamities came from God.* The ebbing and flowing of all humane affaires dependeth vpon that Moone. The rising and fall of kingdomes, commeth from this Sunne. Thou therefore in loosing the raynes thus to thy sorrowe, and grudging that thy countrey is so turned and ouer-turned, considerest not what thou art, and against whome thou complaineest. What art thou? A man, a shadowe, dust: Against whom doest thou fret? I feare to speak it, euen against

Man is vn-worthy to lift vp himself against it.

GOD.

The Auncientes haue fayned that Gyantes aduanced themselues against God, to pull him out of his throne. Let vs omitte these fables: In very trueth you querulous and murmuring men be these Gyantes. For if it bee so that God doe not only suffer, but send all these things: then ye which thus striue and struggle, what doe you els but (as much as in you lyeth) take the scepter and sway of government from him? O blind mortality: The Sun, the Moon, Stars, Elemēts, and all creatures els in the world, doe willingly obey that supreme lawe: Only M A N, the most excellent of all

For all other creatures besides, are obedient.

Gods

Gods workes listeth vp his heele, and spurneth against his maker. If thou hoist thy sayles to the windes, thou must follow whether they will force thee, not whither they will leadeth thee. And in this great Ocean sea of our life wilt thou refuse to follow that breathing spirite which gouerneth the whole worlde? Yet thou striuest in vaine. For if thou follow not freelic, thou shalt be drawne after forcibly. We may laugh at him who hauing tyed his boat to a rock: afterwards halleth the rope as though the rocke shoulde come to him, when himselfe goeth neerer to it: But our foolishnesse is farre greater, who being fast bounde to the rocke of Gods eternall prouidence, by our haling and pulling would haue the same to obey vs, and not we it. Let vs forsake this fondnes, and if we be wise let vs follow that power which from aboue draweth vs, and let vs think it good reason that man should be pleased with that which pleaseth God. The souldier in campe, hauing a signe of marching forwardes giuen him, taketh vp all his trinkets: But hearing the note of battell layeth them downe, preparing and making himselfe readie with heart, eyes and cares, to execute whatsoeuer shall be commanded. So let vs in this our vvar-fare followe chearfully and with courage whithersoeuer our generall calleth vs. *Wee are hereunto adiured by oath (saith Seneca) euen to endure mortalitie, nor to be troubled with those things which it is not in our power to auoide. Wee are borne in a kingdome, and to obey God is libertie.*

Likewise it is folly to strine for all is in vaine.

Because the heauenly mind draweth and directeth all things, wil they, nil they

therefore we must willingly obey.

A golden sentence of Seneca.

## CHAPT. XV.

*A passage to the second argument for Constancie, which is taken from necessitie. The force and violence thereof, This necessitie is considered two waies, And first in the thinges themselves.*



**T**His is a sure brazen Target against all outward accidents. This is that golden armour wherewith being fenced, *Plato* willed vs to fight against Chance and Fortune, to be subiect to God, to think on God, and in all euents to cast our mind vpon that great MIND of the world, I meane PROVIDENCE; whose (a) *holie and happie* troupes hauing orderly trained forth, I will now bring out another band vnder the banner of NECESSITY. A band valiant, strong, and hard as Iron, which I may fitly terme, *The thundering Legion*. The power of this is sterne and inuincible, which tameth and subdueth all things: Wherefore (*Lipsius*) I maruell if thou withstand it. *Thales* being asked what was strongest of all things, answered, NECESSITY: for it ouercommeth all things. And to that purpose there is an old saying (though not so warily spoken) (b) *That the Goddess cannot constrain Necessitie*. This necessitie I ioyne next vnto Providence, because it is neere kinne to it, or rather borne of it. For from God and his decrees Necessitie springeth: And it is nothing els (as the Greek Philosopher defineth it,) but (c) *A firme ordinance and immutable power of providence*. That it hath a stroke in all publike euilles that befall, I will prooue two wayes: from the nature of things themselues, and from destiny. And first from the things, in that it is a naturall propertie to all things created, to fall into mutabilitie and alteration: As vnto Iron cleaueth naturally a consuming rust: to wood a gnawing worme, and so a wasting rottennes. Euen so to liuing creatures, citiies and kingdomes, there be certaine inward causes of theit own decay. Looke vpon all things high and lowe, great and small, made with hand, or composed by the minde, they alwayes haue decayed, and euer shal. And as the riuers with a continual swift course runne into the sea: So all humaine things thorough this

(a) He alludeth to the ancient legion that was cognominated Pia Felix.

Another argument take from necessitie, whose force is generallic shewed

(b) In this place it fitteth best to translate the word plurallie as in the latin: which in other places I do purposely auoid.

(c) *Plato* 5 & 7. lib. de legib.

What necessitie is.

It is twofold, as concerning our present purpose First natural to the things themselues.

In that all things are created to alteration and decay.

conduit of wastings and calamities flyde to the marke of their desolation, Death & destruſtiō is this mark: And the means to come thither are plague, war and slaughters. So that if death be necessarie, then the means in that respect are as necessarie. Which to the end thou maist the better perceiue by examples, I will not refuse in conceit and imagination to wander a whiles with thee through the great vniuersitie of the world.

## CHAPT. XVI.

*Examples of necessarie alteration, or death in the whole worlde.*

*That heauen and the elements are changed, and shall perish: the like is to be seene in townes, prouinces and kingdomes, Finallie, that all things here do turne about the wheale: And that nothing is stable or constant.*

**I**T is an eternall decree, pronounced of the worlde from the beginning, and of all things therein, to be borne & to die; to begin and end. That supream Iudge of all things, would haue nothing firme and stable but himself alone, as saith the tragicke Poet.

Which is declared by examples of things aboue and beneath.

*From age and death God onlie standeth free,  
But all things els by time consumed be.*

*Sophocles.*

All these things which thou beholdest and admirest, either shall perish in their due time, or at least bee altered and changed: Seest thou the Sun? He fainteth. The Moone? She laboureth and languisheth. The Sarres? They faile and fall. And howsoeuer the wit of man cloaketh and excuseth these matters, yet there haue happened and daily do in that celestiaall bodie such things as confound both the rules and wittes of the Mathematicians. I omit Cometes strange in forme, scituation and motion, which al the vniuersities shall neuer perswade me to be in the aire, or of the aire. But be-

Beginning with the examples of the firmament and the aire.

(a) Anno Dom.  
1572. all the  
best Mathe-  
maticians  
agreed that it  
was above the  
elementarie  
regions.

From the wa-  
ters and sea.

From the  
earth.  
(b) Therefore  
was the earth  
called in Latine  
Vesta, id est, vi-  
sua stans.

To this ende  
and purpose  
is there such  
strife and dis-  
cord between  
the elements.  
(c) The first in  
Achaia: the o-  
ther by the gulf  
of Corinth.  
(d) In the par-  
ties of Zeland.

holde our Astrologers were sore troubled of late with strange motions, and new starres. (a) This very yeare there arose a star whose encreasing and decreasing was plainly marked, and we saw (a matter hardly to be credited) euen in the heauen it self, a thing to haue beginning and end againe. And Varro (in *Augustine*) cryeth out and affirmeth, that the *Euening starre called of Plantus Vesperugo, and of Homer Hesperus, had changed his colour, his bignesse, his fashion, & his course* Next vnto the heauen, behold the Aire, it is altered daylie and passeth into windes, cloudes, and showers. Goe to the waters. Those floods and fountaines which we affirme to be perpetuall, doe sometimes faile altogether, and otherwhiles change their channel and ordinarie course. The huge Ocean (a great and secrete part of nature) is euer tossed and tumbled with tēpests: and if they be wanting, yet hath it his flowing and ebbing of waters, & that we may perceiue it to be subiect to decay, it swelleth & swageth daily in his parts.

Behold also the earth which is taken to be immoueuable, and to (b) stand steddy of her owne force: it fainteth and is stricken with an inward secrete blast that maketh it to tremble: Some where it is corrupted by the water, other where by fire. For these same things doe striue among themselves: Neither grudge thou to see warre among men, there is likewise betweene the Elements. What great lands haue bene wasted, yea wholly swallowed vp by suddaine deluges, and violent ouerflowings of the sea? In olde time the sea ouerwhelmed whollie a great Iland called *Atlantis* (I thinke not the storie fabulous) and after that the mightie cities (c) *Helice* and *Bura*. But to leaue auncient examples, in our owne fathers age, here in *Belgica* (d) two Ilandes with the townes and men in them. And euen now in our time this Lorde of the sea *Neptune* openeth to himselfe newe gappes, and swippeth vp daylie the weake bankes of *Friseland* and other



ther countries. Yet doeth not the earth sit still like a slothfull huswife, but sometimes reuengeth her selte, and maketh new Ilandes in the middes of the sea, though *Neptune* maruell and bee mouued thereat. And if these great bodies which to vs seeme euerlasting, bee subiect to mutabilitie and alteration, why much more shoulde not townes, common-wealthes, and kingdoms; which must needes be mortall, as they that doe compose them? As each particular man hath his youth, his strength, olde age, and death. So fareth it with those other bodies. They begin, they increase, they stand and flourish, and all to this ende, that they may decay. One earthquake vnder the raigne of *Tiberius* ouerthrew twelue famous townes of *Asia*. And as many in *Campania* in *Constantines* time. One warre of *Attila* a Scythian prince destroyed aboute an hundred citties. The ancient *Thebes* of *Egypt* is scarce held in remembrance at this day: And a hundred townes of *Crete* not beleued euer to haue bene. To come to more certaintie, our Elders sawe the ruines of *Carthage*, *Numantia*, *Corinth*, and wondered thereat. And our selues haue behelde the vnrworthy relikes of *Athens*, *Sparta*, and many renowned citties, yea euen that (a) Lady of all things and countries (falsly tearmed euerlasting) where is she? Ouerwhelmed, pulled downe, burned, ouer-flowed: Shee is perished with more than one kinde of destruction, and at this day shee is ambitiouslie soughte for, but not founde in her (b) proper soyle. Seest thou that noble (c) *Byzantium* being proude with the seate of two Empires? *Venice* lifted vp with the stableness of a thousande yeares continuance? Their day shall come at length. And thou also our *Antwerpe*, the beautie of citties, in time shalt come to nothing. For this greate Master-builder pulleth downe, setteth vp, and (if I may so lawfully speake) maketh a sporte of humane

If the elements perish, how much more things compounded of them.

the decay & subuersion of great citties.

a) Rome is meant.

b) For it is now in *Campo Martio*, and not amid the 7. hills where it was first founded.

c) Now called *Constantinople*, hauing bene the seat of two Empires, the *Roman* and *Turkish*.

affaires: And like an Image-maker, formeth and frameth to himselfe sundrie sortes of portraitures in his clay.

I haue spoken yet of townes and cities: Countries likewise and kingdomes runne the verie same race. Once the East flourished: *Assyria*, *Egypt* and *Iewrie* excelled in warre and peace. That glorie was transferred into *Europe*, which now (like a diseased bodie) seemeth vnto me to be shaken, and to haue a feeling of her great confusion nigh at hande. Yea, and that which is more (and neuer ynough) to be maruelled at, this world hauing now bene inhabited these fise thousand and fise hundred yeares, is at length come to his dotage: And that we may now approue againe the fables of *Anaxarchus* in old time huffed at, behold how there ariseth els wher new people, & a (a) new world: O the law of NECESSITY, woonderfull, and not to be comprehended: All things run into this fitall whirle-poole of ebbing and flowing: And some things in this world are long lasting, but not euclasting.

Lift vp thine eyes and looke about with mee (for it griueth me not to stand long vpon this poynt) and behold the alterations of all humane affaires: and the swelling and swaging of them as of the sea: Arise thou: tal thou: rule thou: obey thou: hide thou thy head: lift thou vp thine and let this wheel of changeable things run round, so long as this round world remayneth. Haue you Germanes in time past bene fierce? Be ye now milder than most people of *Europe*. Haue you Brittaines bene vnciuill heretofore? Now exceed you the Egyptians and people of (b) *Sybaris* in delights & riches. Hath *Greece* one flourished? Now let her be afflicted. Hath *Italy* swayed the scepter? Now let her be in subiection. You Gothes, you Vandales, you vilest of the Barbarians, peep you out of your lurking holes, and come rule the nations in your turne? Drawe neere yee rude Scythians,

Of Assyria  
Historians  
write. Of Iew  
rie, the holic  
scriptures  
And of the  
magnificent  
power of the  
Egyptians, be  
sides others:  
Tacitus, who  
maketh it e-  
qual with the  
Parthians and  
Romans  
II. Annal.  
(a) The west  
Indies and all  
those new  
found coun-  
tries  
commonly cal-  
the new world  
the conclusi-  
on by heap-  
ing together  
examples of  
alterations  
& mutability

b) who were  
the daintiest in  
the world.



(a) Scythians, and with a mightie hand hold you a while the raynes of *Asia* and *Europe*: yet you againe soone after giue place, and yeeld vp the scepter to another nation bordering on the Ocean. Am I deceiued? or els do I see the sunne of another new Empire arising in the West?

(a) I respect the Turkes, vvhoe came of them.

## CHAPT. XVII.

*We come to that necessitie which is of destinie. First Destinie it selfe auouched. That there hath bene a generall consent therein of the common people, and wise men: But different in part. Howe manie waies Destinie hath bene taken among the Antientes.*

Thus spake *Langius*, and with his take caused the teares to trickle downe my checkes: so clearely seemed hee to beholde the vanitie of humaine affaires.

With that lifting vp my voyce, *Alasse* (quoth I) what are we, or all these matters for which we thus toyle? *What is it to be some bodie: vvhhat is it to be no bodie? Man is a shadowe and a dreame.* As saith the Poet. Then spake *Langius* to mee,

But thou young man doe not onely contemplate on these things; but contemne them. Imprint **CONSTANCIE**

in thy mind amid this casuall and inconstant variableness of all things. I call it inconstant in respect of our vnderstanding and iudgment: for that if thou looke vnto God and his prouidence, all things succeed in a stedy and immouable order. Now I cast aside my sworde and come to my engines: neither will I any longer assault thy **SORROW**

with handie weapons, but with great ordinance: running against it with the strong and terrible (b) *Ramme*, which no power of man is able to put backe, nor pollicie to prevent. This place is somewhat slipperie, yet I will enter in to it, but warily, slowly, and (as the *Grecians* speake) with

A passage to the other kind of necessitie, in respect of destinie.

(b) It is here taken for an engine of war.

Whereof the disputation is doubtful, for



crabbed curi-  
osity of mens  
wits.

a quiet foote.

And first that there is a kinde of FATAL DESTINIE in thinges, I thinke neither thy selfe (*Lipsius*) nor any people or age hath euer doubted of. Here I interrupting him saide, I pray you pardon mee if I hinder you a little in this course. What? Doe you oppose Destinie vnto me? Alas, this is but a weake engine pushed on by the feeble Stoickes. I tell you plainlie I care not a rush for the DESTINIES, nor for the (*a*) Ladies of them. And I say with the souldier in *Plantus*. I will scatter this troupe of old wiues with one blast of breath, euen as the winde doth the leaues. *Langius* looking sternely on me, wilt thou so rashlie and vnadvisedly (said hee) delude or denie vterlic DESTINIE? Thou art not able, except thou can at once take away the diuine Godhead and the power thereof, For, if there beea GOD, there is also PROVIDENCE: if it, a decree and order of thinges, and of that followeth a firme and sure necessitie of euentes. Howe auoyde you this blowe? Or with what axe will you cut off this chaine? For GOD and that eternall spirite may not otherwise be considered of vs, then that wee attribute vnto it an eternall knowledge and fore sight. We must acknowledge him to be stayed, resolute and immutable, alwaies one, and like himselfe, not wauering or vaying in those thinges which once he willed and foresawe. For, *The eternall God neuer chaungeth his minde*, saith *Homer*. Which if thou confesse to bee true (as needs thou must, if there be in thee any reason or sense) this also must be allowed that all Gods decrees are firme and immoueuable euen from euerlasting vnto all eternitie: of this groweth necessitie, and that same DESTINIE which thou deridest. The trueth wherof is so cleare and commonly receaued, that there was neuer any opinion more currant among all nations: And

who

(*a*) They are called Parcs, and Poets haue said three of them.

First a certain fatal necessity is proued. By an indissoluble knitting together of causes.

whosoever had anie light of God himselfe and his providence, had the like of Destinie. The most auncient and wisest Poet *Homer* (believe me) traced his diuine muse in none other path than this of Destinie. Neither did the other Poets his progenie straye from the steppes of their father. See *Euripides*, *Sophocles*, *Pindarus*, and among the Latines *Virgill*. Shall I speake of Historiographers? This is the voice of them all: That such and such a thing came to passe by Destinie, and that by destinie kingdomes are either established, or subuerted. Would you heare the Philosophers, whose chiefe care was to finde out and defend the truth against the common people? As they iarr'd in manie things thorough an ambitious desire of disputing: so it is a wonder to see how they agreed vniuersallie vpon the entrance into this way which leadeth to Destinie. I say in the entrance of that way, because I deny not, but that they followed some by-path-waies, which may be reduced into these four kindes of DESTINIE, namely, MATHEMATICAL, NATVRAL, VIOLENT and TRVE. All which I will expound brieflye, onelie touching them a little, because that herehence commonly groweth confusion and error.

Some know ledge of destinie inprinted naturally in al men.

Homer a right wise poet accounted of all the wife.

He is a ring-leader to destinie.

Whom other writers followed.

Almost al the philosophers agree vpon destinie.

But yet there be 4 severall opinions touching the nature thereof.

## CHAPT. XVIII.

*The three first kindes of destinie brieflye expounded. The definition or description of them all. The Stoicks slightly and brieflye excused.*

I call MATHEMATICAL destinie, that which tyeth and knitteth firmelie all actions and euents to the power of the Planettes, and dispositions of the Starres: Of which the Chaldeans & Astrologians were the first authors. And among the Philosophers that lofty *Mercurius* is principall

What Mathematical destinie is.



Plato like-  
wise in Ti-  
mæo, incli-  
neth hereto.

and Abbetter, who subtelic and wiselic distinguishing PROVIDENCE, NECESSITIE, and DESTINIE, saith: *Providence is an absolute and perfect knowledge of the celestiall God: which hath two faculties neere allieed vnto it, Necessitie and Destinie. Destinie truelic serueth and assisteth providence, and also Necessitie: But vnto Destinie it selfe the starres doe minister. For neither may anye man auoide the force of Fate, neither beware of the power and influence of the starres. For these be the weapons and armour of Destinie, at whose pleasure they doe and performe all things to nature and men.* In this foolish opinion are not onely the common crue of Astrologers, but (I shame to speake it) some Diuines.

What physi-  
cal or natural  
destinie is,

I call *Naturall fate the order of naturall causes, which (not being hindered) by their force and nature doe produce a certaine and the selfe same effect.*] Aristotle is of this sect, if wee giue credite to *Alexander Aphrodisæus* his interpreter. Likewise *Theophrastus*, who writeth plainlie, *That destinie is the nature of each thing.* By their opinion it is Destinie that a man begetteth a man; and so that he dyeth of inward naturall causes & not by violence or force, it is destinie. Contrarielie, that a man should ingender a serpent or a monster, it is (a) *besides Destinie*: Also to be killed with a sword, or by fire. This opinion is not verie offensue, for that indeed it ascendeth not so high as the force of Fate or Destinie. And doeth not euery one escape falling that keepeth himselfe from climbing aloft? Such a one is (b) *Aristotle* almost euerie where writing ought of celestia matters, except it be in his book of the world, which is a golden treatise, lauring of a more celestia ayre. I reade moreouer in a Greeke writer that *Aristotle* thought Fate was no cause, but that chance was in some sort an alteration or change of the cause of such things as were disposed by necessitie. O the heart of a Philosopher: that durst account Fortune and Chaunce among the number of cau-

(a) So do Virgil  
and Cicero  
write, that a  
thing may die  
by destinie, or  
besides destinie.  
(b) For he doth  
not fully and  
plainly allowe  
providence, but  
only hath a  
glance at it in  
his Ethickes.



ses, but not Destiny. But let him passe: I come to the Stoickes my friendes (for I professe to hold that sect in estimation and account) who were the authours of VIOLENT FATE, which with *Seneca* I define to be, *A necessitie of all things and actions, which no force can withstand or breake.* And with *Crisippus*, *A spirituall power, governing orderly the whole world*]. These definitions swarue not farre from the truth, if they be soundly and modestlie expounded. Neither (happilie) their opinion generally, if the common people had not condemned the same alreadie by a preiudicate conceite. They are charged with two impieties, that they make God subiect to the wheele of Destiny, and also the actions of our will. I cannot boldlie acquit them of both these faults: for out of some of their writings (fewe being at this day extant) wee may gather those sayings, and out of some other wee collect more wholsome sentences.

the Stoicke<sup>s</sup> wisest of all the ancient Sages.

What Stoical fate is.

Wherein the Stoicks do erre.

*Seneca* a principall pillar of that sect stumbleth at the first blocke in his book of prouidence, where he saith, *The verie same necessitie bindeth God: an irrenoucable course carrieth away both humaine and diuine things. The maker and ruler of all things decreed destinies, but now followeth them: He commaunded once, but he obeyeth for euer.* And that same indissoluble chaine and linking together of causes which bindeth all things and persons, seemeth plainlie to inferre force or constraint. But the true Stoickes neuer professed such doctrine, and if by chance any like sentence passed from them in the vehemencie of their writing or disputing, it was more in words than in substance and sense. *Chrysippus* (who first corrupted that graue sect of Philosophers with crabbed subtilties of questions) cleareth it from depriving man of free libertie. (a) And our *Seneca* doth not make God subiect to fate (he was wiser than so) but God to God, after a

they seem to make God subiect to destinie:

And to deprive man of his libertie.

But in truth they be not wholly of that opinion.

(a) In *Agellius*.

certaine kinde of speech. For those Stoickes that came neere the truth do call Destinie sometimes Providence, and sometimes God. Therefore *Zeno* when he had called *Destinie* a Power moving about the same matter, after one and the same manner, he addeth, which it booteth not whether you call it Providence or nature. Likewise *Chrysippus* other where calleth *Destinie* the eternall purpose or decree of providence. *Panaetius* the Stoick said; That God himselfe was Fate, (a) *Seneca* being of the same minde saith, when you list you may call the author of nature and all thinges, by this or that name: You may iustly tearme him the best and great *Iupiter* and thundering, and *Stator*, that is, Stable or standing, not so called (as *Historians* denouer) because that after a vowe undertaken, he stayed the *Roman* Armie flying away: But because all thinges stand by his free benefit, therefore was he named (b) *stator* or *stabiliter*. If you call him also Fate or destinie, you shall not belie him. For sith that destinie is nothing but a folded order of causes, hee is the principall & first cause of al, wheron the residue do depend. Which last words are so godlie spoken, that flander it selfe cannot flander them. In this point dissented not from the Stoickes that greate *Writer* to a greate *King*: I thinke that *Necessitie* ought not to be called any thing els but God, as a stedfast and stable nature. And destinie that which knitteth together all thinges and holdeth his course freely, without let or impediment. Which sayings, if they haue any taste of temeritie in them, yet not of impietie: and beeing rightlie interpreted, differ not much from our true fate or destinie. I doe in good earnest giue this commendation to the Stoickes, that no other sect of Philosophers auowed more the maiesty and providence of God, nor drewe men neerer to heauenlie and eternall thinges. And if in treading this trace of Destinie they went somewhat astray, it was thorough a laudable and good desire they haue to withdrawe blind men from

that

For they use the name of destiny other wise, meaning thereby sometimes providence, and sometimes God. (a) li. 4 de ben. ca. 7. where this is read somewhat otherwise and corruptible.

(b) *Stator* & *stabilitor*

*Aristotle* to *Alexander* in his book *de mundo*.

the sect of the Stoickes noble and renowned.



that blind Goddesse, I meane FORTVNE: (a) The nature whercof they did not onclie mightilie hisse out of their companie, but euen the verie name.

## CHAPT. XIX.

*The fourth and true kind of Destinie expounded. The name brieflic spoken of, it is lightly defined, and proued to differ from Providence.*

**T**HIS much may suffice touching the opinions and dissentions of the Auncients. For why shoulde I ouer curiouselie search the secretes of hell? (as the pro- uerbe is) I shall haue ynough to doe with true Destinie, which now I propound and illustrate, calling it, AN ETERNAL DECREE OF GODS PROVIDENCE, which cannot bee taken away no more than prouidence it selfe. And let not any man cauill with mee about the name, because I say there is not in Latine an other proper word to expresse that thing, but FATVM. What? haue old writers abused it? Let vs vse it: and so enlarging this word out of the prison of the Stoickes, let vs bring it to a better light. It is called in Latine FATVM a. *sando* of speaking, neither is it any thing els properlie, but *The saying and commandement of God*: And this is it which novve I seeke for: I define it eyther vvith that famous P I C V S, *A ranke and order of causes depending vpon Gods counsell*, or vvith mine owne vvordes more obscurely and subtile, *An immoueable decree of Providence inherent in things moouable, which firmlic effecteth euerie thing in his order, place, and time*. I call it *A decree of Providence*, because I agree not vvhollic vvith the Diuines of our dayes (let them giue me leaue in the free studie of the trueth) who in name and nature

(a) Which I english Fate or destinie.

when we may vse the name of Fate or Destinie, and how far forth

Two definitions of true fate, the first plaine, the other obscurer but more to the nature of the thing.



It seemeth not  
to be all one  
with prouid-  
ence.

The diuersi-  
tie of them  
both.

Prouidence is  
considered v-  
niuersally.  
Destiny par-  
ticularly.  
That is in  
God.  
This in the  
things them-  
selues.

(a) *Milium te-  
rebrare, a pro-  
urbo.*

Prouidence  
better than  
Destinie.

confound it with prouidence. I know it to be a hard mat-  
ter, and full of temeritie to conceiue or restraine vnto cer-  
taine wordes that *Super-naturall and Super-celestiall essence* (I  
meane God) or ought that belongeth to him: yet vnto  
mans capacitie, I defend and maintaine that prouidence is  
one thing properlie, and the same which wee call fate or  
destinie, another: For I consider prouidence no other wise  
then that it be, *A Power and facultie in God of seeing, knowing &  
gouerning all things.*] A POWER, I say, vniuersal, vndi-  
uided, guarded, and as *Lucretius* speaketh, vnited together.  
But Destinie seemeth to descend into the things themselues  
and to be scene in the particulars of them, being as it were  
a disposing and bestowing abroad of that vniuersall prouid-  
ence, by particulars. Therefore Prouidence is in God, and  
attributed to him alone: Destinie in the things, and to them  
is ascribed. You thinke I trifle, and (as it is saide) (a) bore  
holes in Millet seede: No (*Lipsius*) I take this out of the talk  
of the common people, among whome nothing is more  
vsuall than to say, This was my good or euill destinie: and  
likewise, this was the fatall decree of this kingdome, or  
that town. But no man so speaketh of prouidence, no man  
applyeth it to the things themselues, without impietie and  
dirision. Therefore I said well, that the one of them was  
in God, thother trulie from God, and perceiued in the  
selfe thinges.

I say moreover, that though Prouidence be not really  
diuided from Destinie, yet it is more excellent and more an-  
cient: Euen as we are taught in the schooles of the wise to  
say that the Sunne is more worthy than the light: Eternity  
than time: Vnderstanding, then reason. But to drawe into  
a short summe these curious not common matters. Thou  
seest I haue iust cause both to vse this distinction, and also  
to retaine the name of Destinie against the new Consistory  
of

of Diuines. For why? Those auncient famous (a) Fathers prohibite mee not but that I may vse in his right and true sense the word DESTINY. But now that I may return to make plainc my former definition, I sayd it was, *An inhererent decree,*] to shew that Destinie should be marked in the thinges to the which it commeth, and not from whence it proceedeth. I added, *In moueable thinges,* signifying that although Destinie it selfe bee immoueable, yet it taketh not away motion, nor any naturall facultie from thinges, but worketh easilie and without force, euen as the markes and signes imprinted by God in each thing, do require. In causes (secundarie I meane) that be necessarie, it worketh necessarie: In natural causes, naturallie: In voluntarie causes, voluntarilie: In contingent, contingentlie. Wherefore in respect of the things it doth neither force, nor constrain: But as euerie thing is made to doe, or suffer, so it directeth and turneth all thinges. But if you recall it to his first originall, I meane God and his prouidence, I affirme constantly and boldly that all thinges are done necessarily, which are done by destiny.

Lattie, I ioyned of the *Order, place and time,* establishing that which I saide before, that prouidence was of things in vniuersality, Destiny by distribution in particularities. By ORDER, I vnderstande the course and vnitring together of causes which destiny limitteth. By PLACE and TIME, I meane that woonderful and incomprehensible power whereby all euentes or actions are tyed to their certaine places and moments of time. It was destinie that *Tarquinius* should be banished his kingdome. Be it so: but first let the adulterie bee committed. You see the order of the causes. It was destiny that *Cæsar* should bee killed. So: But in the Senate by the image of *Pompei*. You see the place. That *Domitian* should bee murdered of his owne people.

H

Let

(a) August. lib. 5  
de ciuit. dei ca.  
1. & 9. Item  
Isidorus. Orig.  
8. ca. 1. Quin.  
& Tho. Aquin.  
nus vbo  
vrot a booke  
of destinie.  
The definiti-  
on of Destiny  
explained and  
made mani-  
fest,

Destiny doth  
not force  
things

the last parte  
of the definiti-  
on explained.

Let him be murdered; but yet at the very houre, euen the fift, which in vaine he sought to preuent. Thus you see the time.

## CHAPT. XX.

*It is distinguished by foure Notes from Stoicall Destinie. Here is shewed more exactlie how it doth not enforce our wil: And also, that God is neither coadiutor, nor author of euil.*

**H**OW sayest thou (yong man) perceauest thou this? Or must I light a clearer torch to thee? I striking my head, Yea, (*Langius*) I must haue more light, or I shall neuer come out of this darknesse. What slender kind of distinctions be these? What captious ginnes of questions are here? I feare treason (beleue me) and suspect those mysticall and doubtfull words of yours as my very enemies. *Langius* laughing a little, be of good courage (quoth he) here is no *Hanniball*. Thou art come into a sure castle, not fallen into any ambushment: I will giue thee light ynough. Tell mee where and in what point thou art so ignorant yet? In that *Langius* which concerneth force and necessitie. For trulie I cannot conceiue how this destiny that you describe, differeth from that of the Stoickes, which when you had in wordes shut out at the broad gate (as I may say) in effect you let in affewards at a posterne or backdore. No (*Lipsius*) God forbid: for my part I doe not so much as dreame of any such Stoicall Destinie, nor studi to reuiue againe those (a) olde wiues long agoe dead and buried. I propose vnto thee such a destinie as may stande with modestie and godlines, distinguished from that violent Fate by foure markes. They make God himselfe subiect to Destinie, And *Iupiter* (in *Homer*) though hee were most willing, coulde not enlarge *Sarpedon* from his bandes.

True destiny seemeth to be mixed with Stoicall.

(a) The Ladies of destiny, called generally Parce.

But they differ in 4. pointes.

BUT



But wee doe subiect Destinie vnto God, making him a most free authour and actor of things, able at his will, and pleasure far to surmount and cut in sunder those linked troupes and bandes of Destinie. They appoynt a successiue order of naturall causes from all eternitie: Wee doe not make the causes alwayes naturall (for God is often the cause of woonders and miracles, besides or contrarie to nature) nor eternall. For these second causes had their beginning with the world. Thirdlie, they take away all contingencie from things; wee admit it, affirming that as often as the secundarie causes are such, chauce or hap may bee admitted in the euentes and actions. Lastlie, they seemed to intrude a violent force vpon our vwill. This becometh farre from vs, who doe both allowe fate or destiny, and also ioynne handes with libertie or (a) freedome of will. Wee doe so shunne the deccitfull blastes of Fortune, and chauce, that wee dash not our shippe against the rockes of necessitie. Is there F A T E? Yea. But it is the firste and principall cause, which is so farre from taking avay the middle and secondary causes, that (ordinarilie and for the most part) it worketh not but by them: and thy will is among the number of those secundarie causes, thinke not that God (b) forceth it, or wholly taketh it away: herein is all the error and ignorance in this matter, no man considereth how he ought to will that which Destinie willeth: And I say freely to will it. For God that created all things vseth the same without any corruption of them. As the highest spheare with his motion swayeth about the rest, yet so as it neyther barreth nor breaketh them of their proper motions: So God by the power of destiny draweth all things, but taketh not away the peculiar facultie or motion of any thing. He would that trees & corn should grow.

1. We account God to be above Fate.

2. We make not the order of second causes eternal.

3. We take not away contingent things

4. We graunte to man a certain libertie or freedome.

(a) *Whatsoever I speak here, let the wise be iudges of it, I will amend any thing upon admonition. And albeit happily I may be conuinc'd of falsly, yet will I not of forwardnes.*

(b) *Augustine saith sharply and subtilly: The will cannot be constrained to will that which it would not. For we should not will it, if we were not willing of it*

*Præcognovit omnia  
sed non præ  
finiuit. Da-  
masceus.*

We sin neces-  
sarily, yet of  
our own free-  
wil.

(a) In some  
sense willetch it,  
for that nothing  
is done against  
his will.

Plutarch wit-  
tily denieth  
that sins are  
wrought by  
destiny, & yet  
be contained  
vnder destiny  
As al thinges  
are not done  
by law, that  
be comprehen-  
ded in the law

So do they, without any force of their owne nature. Hee would that men should vse deliberation and choyse. So do they, without force, of their free-will. And yet, whatsoeuer they were in mind to make choyse of, God foresaw from all eternitie: He fore-sawe it (I say) not forced it: hee knewe it, but constrayned not: he fore-tolde it, but not prescribed it. Why do our curious *Curioes* stagger or stumble herat? O simple creatures! I see nothing more cleare than this, except it be so that some busie wanton mind listeth to rub and exasperate it selfe, being infected with a contagious itching of disputation and contention.

How can it bee (say they) if God foresawe that I should sinne, and his fore-sight cannot be deceiued, but that I doe sinne necessarilie? Foole! Who denieth it? Thou sinnest necessarilie, and yet of thine owne free-will. Forsooth thus much did God foresee, that thou shouldst sinne in such sort as he foresawe, but he saw that thou shouldst sinne freelie, therefore thou sinnest freely and necessarilie. Is this plaine ynough? They vrge further, and say, Is not God in vs the authour of euery motion? He is the authour generally, I confesse, yet the fauorer of good onely. Art thou inclined to vertue? Hee knoweth it, and helpeth thee. Vnto vice? Hee knoweth that also, and (a) suffereth thee. Neyther is there any fault in him. I ride a weake and lame horse, the ryding is of mee, but the weaknesse and lamenes of him selfe. I play vpon a harp ill sounding and out of tunc: In that it is out of tunc is the fault of the Instrument, not of me. The earth with one vniuersall and the same iuyce nourisheth all trees and fruites whereof some growe to be profitable, and some poysonable. What then? shall we say that this proceedeth of the earth, and not rather frō the nature of the trees that do conuert so good nutriment into poyson? So in this case it commeth of God that thou art moued: But it is of and in thy selfe that thou

art

art moued to euill. Finallie, to conclude of this libertie: Destinie is as the first man that leadeth the round in this daunce of the world: but so as we daunce our partes to, in willing, or nilling; and no further, not in doing, for there is left to man onely a free-wil to striue and stuggle against God, and not power to perfourme the same. As it is lawfull for me to walke vp and downe in a shippe and to runne about the hatches or seates, but this stirring of mine cannot hinder the sailing of the ship: So in this fatall vessell wherein we all sayle, let our willes wrangle and wrest as they list, they shal not turne her out of her course, nor anie thing hinder the same. That highest will of all willes must holde and rule the raynes, and with the turne of a hande direct this chariot whither soeuer it pleaseth.

A fit similitude.

## CHAPT. XXI.

*A Conclusion of the treatise of Destinie. An admonition that it is doubtfull and full of danger: And must not curiouslie be searched. Lastlie, an earnest exhortation to imprint courage in our mindes thorough necessitie.*

**B**Vt why doe I sayle on so long in this course? I will nowe cast about and auoyd this (a) *Charybdis*, which hath swallowed vp so manie mens wittes. Here I behold how (b) *Cicero* suffered shipwracke, who chose rather to denie providence, than to abate one ace of mans libertie: So whiles that he made men free (as it is finely saide by one Prelate) he made them sacrilegious. *Damascene* also sayleth in this gulfe, and extendeth providence vnto other things, but excludeth it from those that are in vs. By whose harmes (*Lipsius*) I being warned will keepe the shore, and not launch out too farre into this deepe sea. *Euclides* being demanded many thinges touching God, answered fitly,

(a) A gulfe by Sicilie.

(b) In his books of destination.

Cotes do lie hid vnder embers: So is it of destiny. we must not sit



them to much,  
nor thrust this  
fire with  
the sword of  
our sharp wit.

Other things I know not, but of this I am assured, *¶* he hateth curious persons. Even so I thinke of destiny, which must be looked vnto; not into: and be credited, nor perfectly known. I suppose that saying of Bias, *Touching God, beleene that he is,* may better be applyed to destiny, whereof I admonish thee this much, that it sufficeth to know that it is. If thou bee ignorant in other things thereto belonging, it is no offence. This is sufficient to our purpose (for I now return from wandering, into the right way againe) that thou beleue necessitie to be naturallie borne together with publicke euils, and therence seeke some sollace of thy sorrowe. What appertaineth it vnto thee to enquire curioustie of the libertie or thraldome of our will? Whether it be enforced or perswaded? Alasse poore soule! (a) Thy towne is sacked by the enimie, and thou sittest drawing circles in the dust. Warre, tyrannie, slaughter, and death hang ouer thy head, which things truly are sent from aboue, and doe not in any wise appertaine to thy will or pleasure. Thou maist feare, but not preuent: flie, but not auoyde them. Arme thy selfe against them, and take this fatal weapon in thy hand, which will not only pricke, but panch all these sorrowes: not lighten thee, but wholly vnload thee of them. As a nettle if you touch it softlie, stingeth; but looseth his force if you handle it roughlie: So this griefe groweth greater by applying soft mollifying plaisters, but is soone cured with sharp corrasiuues. Nowe there is nothing more forcible than **N E C E S S I T I E**, which vvith one assault overthroweth and putteth to flight all these vveake troupes. What meanest thou Sorrowe? It is no boote to vse thee, when a thing of necessitie must, or reason ought to come to passe. VVhat wilt thou querulous complaint doe? Thou maist shake this celestiall yoake, but not shake it of.

But apply it  
to our profit.

(a) This is spoken in respect of Archimides that famous Geometrician of Syracusis, who in the sacke of the citie was staine drawing of geometrical figures in the ground.

The same is a most strong armour of proof against sorrow.

*Leaue off to thinke that Gods fatall decree,*

*By thy repining may altered bee.*

There is no other refuge from necessity, but to wish that, that she willetch. Wel was it said by an excellent wise man, *Thou art sure to be conquerour if thou enter into no conflict, but such as is in thy power to overcome.* The combate with necessity is not such, wherewith whosoever contendeth shall bee overcome: yea, which more may be maruelled at, he is already vanquished before he begin to enter the lists with it.

*Epicteus in his Enchiridion.*

## CHAPT. XXII.

*Some doe seeke a cloake for their laizinesse in destiny: But that is taken away. Fate worketh by secundarie causes, therefore they must be applyed. How farre it behooueth vs to aide our countrie, and how not. The end of this first conference or book,*

**H**ERE *Langius* pausing a little, I became the readier to speake my mind, and told him that if this wind blew a sterne thus a while, I should thinke my selfe verie neerer the hauen. For I haue now a bold resolution to follow God and obey necessity. Me thinkes I can say with *Euripides*. *I had rather do sacrifice vnto him, then incensed with ire to kicke against the prickes, or that I being a mortal man should contend with God immortall.* Yet there is one tempestuous waue of a troubled imagination that tosseth mee: Asswage it (*Langius*) if you may. For if all publike euills come by Destinie, vvhich cannot bee constraigned nor controlled, why then shall wee take anie care at all for our countrie? Why doo yvee not leaue all to that greate masterlesse Lorde, and sit still our selues vwith our handes in our bowes? For you say that all aduise and ayde is of no force, if DESTINIE bee against it. **LANGIVS** replying, *Alasse young man, (saide hee) by*

*Euripides.*

*An obiection for the slothfull against Destinie.*



It is answered and shewed that mean causes do proceed and go before fatal events.

wilfull frowardnesse thou erreth from the truth. Is this the way to obey Destinie; and not rather to resist and contemn it? Thou wilt sit still with thy handes in thy bosome. Well, I would thy tongue had bene tyed now. Who tolde thee that Destiny worketh alone without coadiuuant and meane causes? It is Destiny thou shouldest haue children: yet first thou must sowe the seede in thy wiues garden. To be cured of thy disease: but so as thou vse the Physician and good nourishment. So likewise if it bee Destiny that this weather-beaten shippe of thy countrey shall bee saued from drowning, it is destinie withall that she be ayded and defended. If thou wilt attain to the hauen thou must ply the oares, and hoys thy sayles, and not idly expect winde at will from heauen.

Good and euill destinie cometh without miracle, by ordinary & accustomed meanes.

Consider the state of Belgica.

(a) Velleius paterculus lib. II. de Cesare & Varo.

We must not despair at the first, as if Fate frowned vnappealedly vpon vs.

Contrarily, if it be destiny that thy countrey shall be brought to confusion, such things shall come to passe by destiny, as will bring her to desolation by humane meanes. The princes and people shall bee at variance among themselves; none shal be willing to obey; none able to command: All shall speake proudly, and doe cowardly. Finally, the Chieftaines themselves shall haue neither counsell, nor fidelitie. (a) Velleius saide trulie, *The force of Fates is ineuitable, whose estate they determine to confound, his counsels they corrupt.* And againe, *The matter is so, that God when hee will change a mans good estate, taketh away his understanding: And (which is most wretched of all) he causeth that the miserie which befalleth is reputed to happen most deservedlie.* Yet thou must not bee so driuen into dispaire, as though at the first assault thy countrey were in hazard of ytter destruction. Howe knowest thou that? What canst thou tell whether this be onelie a light fit of a feuer, or a deeper disease vnto death? Therefore put to thy helping hand, and (as the prouerbe is,) hope still whiles breath is in the sicke bodie. But if thou see by certain  
and



and infallible tokens that the fatall alteration of the State is come, with mee this saying shall preuaile, *Not to fight against God.* And in such a case I would allledge the example of *Solon*: for when *Pisistratus* had brought the citie of *Athens* vnder his obedience, *Solon* seeing that all his labour for defence of the common libertie was in vaine, came and laide downe his sword and Target before the Senate doores, crying out, *O my countrie, I haue by word and deede defended thee whiles I could.* And so going home he was quiet afterwards. So do thou: yeeld to God, and giue place to the time. And if thou be a good citizen or common-wealths-man preferre thy selfe to a better and happier end. The libertie which now is lost, may be recouered againe hereafter; and thy decayed country may flourish in another age: why doest thou loose all courage & fall into despair? Of those two Consuls at the battel of *Cannes*, I account *Varro* a more excellent citizen, who escaped, than *Paulus* that was slain; & so did the Senate & people of *Rome* iudge, giuing him thanks publikely for that he had not lost all hope, nor despaired wholly of the common-wealth. Howbeit whether shee shake, or fall: whether shee impaire or wholly perith, be thou not afflicted, but take vnto thee the noble courage of *Crator*; who when *Alexander* asked whether he would haue his country restored againe to libertie; why should he said hee, for it may be that another *Alexander* will oppresse her. This is the propertie of wise and valiant hearted men, as *Achilles* was warned in *Homer*.

*Though cause of grieffe be great, yet let vs keepe*

*All to our selues: it booteth not to weepe.*

Els as *Creon* (mentioned in fables) embracing his daughter being a burning, did not help her, but cast himselfe away: So (*Lipsius*) thou shalt sooner with thy teares quench the light of thine owne life, than this generall flame of thy country.

All things are first to be assayed, but with that mean, which wisdom only preferreth.

The conclusion, with a general exhortation vnto *Constancie*.

The cause of  
breaking of  
the conferēce  
and putting  
it ouer til an  
other time.

Whiles that *Langius* was thus speaking, the doores racked with a great noise, and behold there came a lad directly towards vs, sent from that worthie personage *Torrentius*, to put vs in mind of the hour of supper: The *Langius* as it were one awaking (suddely) out of a sound sleep, oh (said he) how hath this talking beguiled me: How is this day stolen away? And therewithall he arose, taking me by the hand, and said, come (*Lipsius*) let vs goe to our supper long wished for. Nay (quoth I) let vs sit still a while longer. I account this the best supper of all others, which I may call as the Grecians doe, *The meat of the goddess*. Whiles we are at this banquet, I do alwayes hunger, and am neuer satisfied. But *Langius* drew me along with him, saying, Let vs now haue regard to our promise made, and that which is behinde of our dutie to **CONSTANCIE**, we will, if it please you, performe to morrowe.

THE ENDE OF THE  
first Booke.



# Iustus Lipsius, his second BOOKE, OF CONSTANCY.

## CHAPT. I.

*The occasion of renewing their talke. The going vnto Langius  
his pleasant garden, and the commendation thereof.*



HE next day it seemed good to *Langius* to bring me vnto his gardē, being two, which he kept with verie great care: one in the hill ouer against his houte, the other further off in a valley by the riuer of *Moze*.

*Langius his  
care of gar-  
dens.*

*Which riuer holdeth his course gentlie,  
By a towne seated most pleasantlie.*

*A Verse of  
Ennius.*

Therefore comming somewhat timely into my chamber, what (*Lipsius*) said he, shall we walke abroad, or had you rather take your ease and sitte still? Nay (*Langius*) I had rather walke with you. But whether shall we goe? If it please you, (quoth *Langius*) to my garden by the riuers side; the way is not farre, you shall exercise your bodie, and see the towne: Finallie, the aire is there pleasant and fresh in this haot weather. It pleaseth mee well (said I) neither shall any way be tedious for me to follow if you goe before; though it were to the furthest Indies. And therewith calling for our clokes, we put them on: we went, and went into the garden. In the very entrance as I cast my eyes about with a wandering curiositie, woondring with my selfe at the elegancie and beautie of the place: My Sire (saide I) what pleasantnesse and brauerie is this? You haue heauen here (*Langius*) and no garden: Neither doe the glittering starres shine clearer in a faire night, than your fine flowers glistering and shewing their collours vwith varietie, Poets speake much

*Our going to  
the garden.*

*the beauty &  
brauerie of it*



of the gardens of *Adonis* and *Alcinous*: They are trifles and in comparison of this no better than pictures of Flies: when I drew neerer and applyed some of the flowers to my nose & eyes, what shal I wish first (quoth I) to be all eye, with *Argus*: or nose with *Catullus*? This delight so tickleth and feedeth both my senses at once. Away, away, alye odours of *Arabia*, you are lothsome vnto mee in comparison of this pure and celestially aire that I saour. Then spake *Langius* wringing me softly by the hand, and not without laughter: It is well commended of you (*Lipsius*) but trulie neither I nor my countrey dame *Flora*, here present, doe deserue these lottie and friendlie prayses. Yea, but they are truly deserued (*Langius*.) Think ye that I flatter you? I speak in good earnest and from my heart. The *Elisian* fieldes are not *Elisian* in respect of this your ferme. For behold, what exquisite neatnesse is here on euery side: what order: how proportionable are all thinges disposed in their borders and places, that euen checkerworke in tables is not more curious? Againe, what plenty is here of flowers and hearbes? What strangenes and noueltie: In so much that nature seemeth to haue compacted within this little plot, whatsoeuer thing of price is comprised in this, or that new world.

## CHAPT. II.

*The praise of Gardens in generall, That the care of them is ancient, and from nature it selfe. That it was used by kinges and great personages. Finallie, the pleasure of them laid open before our eies; and my wish not vngodlie.*

The praise of gardens: and that the study of that facultie, seemeth

**A**Nd surely (*Langius*) this your industrious care of gardens, is a labour well-beseeming and praise worthy. A labour, whereto (if I guesse not amisse) euerie good man as he is most temperately giuen, so is he drawn by

by nature, and addicted therunto. An argument thereof is this, that you cannot name anie kind of delight, which the chiefe men of all ages haue more affected, then this. Looke into the holie Scripture, and you shall see that gardens had their beginnings with the world, God himself appoiinting the first man his habitation therein, as the seate of a blessed and happie life. In prophane writers the gardens of *Adonis*, of *Alcinous*, *Tantalus* & the *Hesperides* are grown into fables and common prouerbes: Also in very good approoued histories you shall find, that king *Cyrus* had gardens and Orchards planted with his owne handes: That *Semiramis* had goodly flowers hanging in the aire: *Marsinissa* strange and famous garnished gardens, to the wonder of *Afrika*. Moreouer among the ancient Grecians and Romans, how many could I alleadge that haue cast aside all other cares and betaken themselues whollie to this studie? And they all (in a word) Philosophers and wise men, who eschewing the cities and troublesom assemblies of people, contayned themselues within the bounds and limits of their gardens. And among these, me thinks I see king *Tarquinius* in the time of that first olde *Rome*, walking pleasantlie in his garden, and cropping the toppes of Poppie. I remember *Cato Censorius* giuen to the pleasure of gardens and writing seriousslie of that argument: *Lucullus* after his victories obtained in *Asia*, taking his recreation in his gardens. *Silla*, who forsaking the (a) Dictatorship spent his olde age ioyously here: Lastly I may not forget *Dioclesian* the Emperour, that preferred his pot-herbes and Lettice of a poore farme at *Salona*, before the imperiall scepter and robes of purple. Neither haue the common people dissented from the iudgement of the better sort, in this point, in that I knowe all honest mindes and free from ambition, haue euer bene delighted in this exercise. For there is in vs a secrete and naturall force (the

to be naturally bred in many.

For the best sort of men are and euer haue bene giuen thereto.

their anti-quitie.

Famous and worthy men addicted to that delight.

(a) An office of highest authority among the Romans

An inward &  
secret kind of  
delight in  
gardens.

causes whereof I cannot easily comprehend) which draweth vnto this harmlesse and liberall recreation, not onelie those that be prone by nature that way: but also such austere and graue personages, as woulde seeme to despise and deride it.

Which be-  
guileth the  
mind and  
senses.

And as it is not possible for any man to contemplate heauen and those immortal spirits there, without feare & reuerence: so can we not behold the earth & her sacred treasures, nor the excellent beautie of this inferior world, without an inward tickling and delight of the senses. Aske thy mind and vnderstanding, it wil confesse it self to be led, yea & fed with this aspect and sight. Aske thy senses of seeing and smelling, they wil acknowledge that they take not greater delight in any thing, than in the decent borders and beddes of gardens.

The pleasure  
in the diuer-  
sitie of the in-  
crease and  
growth of  
flowers.

Pause I pray thee a litle while and behold the multitude of flowers with their daylie increasings, one in the stalke, one in the bud, another in the blossome. Marke how one fadeth suddenly, and another springeth. Finallie, obserue in one kind of flower the beautie, the forme, the shape or fashion either agreeing or disagreeing among themselues a thousand wayes. What minde is so sterne that amid all these will not bend it selfe with some mild cogitation, and be mollified thereby? Now come hither a whiles thou curious eie, and be

Also in so  
great varietie  
of Colloours.

fixed a litle vpon these gay and neat collours; mark wel this natural purple, that sanguine, this iuory, that snowy collour; This fiery, that golden hue: and so many other collours besides, as the best painter may æmulate, but neuer bee able to imitate with his pensill. Lastly, what a sweet odour is there?

And fragrant  
smelles.

What percing sauour? And I wot not what part of the heauely aire infused from aboue, that it is not without cause why the Poets sayned, that flowers for the most part sprang vp first from the iuice and bloud of their gods. O the true fountaine of ioy and sweete delight! O the seate of Venus

and



and the Graces. I wish to rest me and lead my whole lyfe in your bowers. God graunt me leaue (farre from all tumults of towncs) to walk with a glad some and wandring eie amid these heatbes and Flowers of the knowne and (a) vnknown worlde; and to reach my handes and to cast mine eies one while to this full-growne Flower, and another while to that newlie in the blossome: so that my minde being beguiled with a kind of wandering restlesnes, I may cast off the remembrance of all cares and troubles.

My wish.

(a) The new world, as it is commonly called.

## CHAPT. II.

*Here is argued against some curious persons that do abuse gardens to vanitie and slouthfulnes: what is the true vse of them: that they are meet for wise men, and learned. And that wisdom herselfe was first bred and brought up in them.*

**W**HEN I had thus spoken sharplie in voice and countenance, then spake *Langius* softlie vnto me; I see (*Lipsius*) I see you loue this flourishing purple Nymph, but I feare mee you doate vpon her. You commend gardens, but so as you seeme only to admire vain and outward things therein, neglecting the true & lawfull delights therof. You poare only vpon collours, and borders, and are greedy of strange Flowers brought from all partes of the world. And to what end is all this? Except it be that I might account thee one of that sect which is risen vp in our dayes, of curious & idle persons, who haue made a thing that was in it self good and without al offence, to be the instrument of two foule vices, *Vanitie* and *Slouthfulnes*. For euen to this end haue they their gardens: they do vain-gloriously hunt after strange hearbs & flowers, which hauing gotten, they preferue & cherish more carefully thā any mother doth her child: these be the mē whose letters fly abroad

the new sect of Garden-masters, scored.

into *Thracia*, *Greece*, and *India* only for a little root or seede. These men will bee more grieued for the losse of a new-found flower, than of an olde friend. Would not any man laugh at that (a) *Romane* which mourned in blacke for the death of a fish that he had. So do these men for a plant.

(a) *Hortensius*  
*vulgo* (it is said)  
 vvaare mour-  
 ning apparell  
 for the losse of a  
*Lamprey*:

Now if any of these whome ye see come hether to my *Dame Flora* for flowers, happen to get any new or strange one, how doth he boast of it? Hisse companions doe grudge and enuie at him, yea some of them return home with a heauier heart, than euer did *Sylla* or *Marcellus* when they were put backe in their suit for the Pretorship. What should I cal this but a kind of merrie madnesse? not vnlike the striuing of children about their little puppets and babbies.

Yet consider moreouer what great paines they take in these gardens. They sit, walk about the allies, stretch themselves like sluggards, and sleepe; So as they make that place not onely a nurserie of idlenesse, but a verie sepulcher of their slothfulnes. A prophane generation of men! whome I may rightlie banish from the ceremonies and communion of true gardens, which I know were ordained for modest recreation, not for vanitie: for solace, not for sloth. What shall I be so light-headed as to be lifted vp or pressed downe in mind for the getting or loosing of some rare and straunge hearbe? Nay rather I will esteeme all things according to their worth, and setting aside the inticement of rarenes and noueltie, I knowe they are but hearbes or flowers; that is, things fading and of smal continuance. Of which the Poet speaketh verie fitly, *that Zephrus with his blastes bringeth vp some, and withereth others*. Therefore I doe not contemne the beautie and elegancie of them (as you may see for example here before your eies:) But I dissent from the opinion of these great Garden-masters, in that I get them without much trauell, keepe them without care, and lose them without

The true vse  
 of Gardens.

Which consisteth not in the price and estimation of flowers.

without grief. Again I am not so simple or base-minded as to tie or wed my self to the shadowes of my garden. I find some busines euen in the mids of my idleness; my mind is there busied, without any labour, and exercised without paine. *I am neuer lesse solitarie (said one) then when I am alone: nor neuer lesse idle, then when I am at leasure.* A worthy saying, which I dare sweare had his first beginning in these selfe same gardens that I speake of. For they be ordained, not for the body, but for the mind: and to recreate it, not to besot it with idlenesse:

only as a wholesome withdrawing place from the cares and troubles of this world. Art thou wearie of the concourse of people? here thou maist be alone. Haue thy worldly businesse tyred thee? here thou maist be refreshed again, where the food of quietnes, & gentle blowing of the pure & wholesome aire, will euen breath a new life into thee. Dost thou

consider the wise men of olde time? They had their dwelling in gardens. The studious and learned wits of our age: they delight in gardens: and in them (for the most part) are compiled those diuine writings of theirs which we wonder at, and which no posteritie or continuance of time shall be able to abolish. So many sharp and subtil disputations of naturall philosophy, proceed from those greene bowers. So many precepts of manners frō those shadowy Academies.

Yea out of the walkes and pleasant allies of gardens, spring those sweet abounding riuers which with their fruitfull ouerflowings haue watered the whole world. For why? the mind listeth vp and advanceth it self more to these high cogitations, when it is at libertie to beholde his owne home, heauen: Then when it is inclosed within the prisons of houses or townes. Here you learned Poets compose yee some poemes worthy of immortalitie. Here let al the learned meditate and write: here let the Philosophers argue & dispute of contentation, constancie, life, and death, Beholde (*Lipsius*)

But in honest delight and recreation of the mind,

For they be places most fit whither men may withdrawe themselues.

And take the fresh aire.

In old time they were the howses of wise men.

They are most meet for learned meditations and writings.



the true end and vse of gardens: to wit, quietnes, with drawing from the world, meditation, reading, writing: and all this as it were, by way of recreation & sport. As painters hauing dimmed their eies with long and earnest beholding their work, doe recōfort thē with certain glasses or green collours so here may we refresh our wearied and wandring minds.

And why should I concale mine intent from thee? Seest thou yonder arbour curiouselie wrought with sundry pictures cut out of the greene boughes; The same is the house of my Muses, my nursery and schoole of wisdom. Here I either plie my selfe with diligent and earnest reading, or els sowe in my heart some seed of good cogitations, and thereby lay vp some wholsome lessons in my minde, as it were weapons in an armorie, which are alwayes ready with me at hand against the force and mutabilitie of Fortune. So soone as I put my foote within that place, I bid all vile and seruile cares abandon me, and lifting vp my head as vp right as I may, I contemne the delights of the prophane people, & the great vanitie of humane affaires. Yea I seem to shake off all thing in mee that is humane, and to bee rapt vp on high vpon the fiery chariot of wisdom. Doeft thou thinke when I am there that I take any care what the Frenchmen or Spaniards are in practising? who possesse the scepter of *Belgica*, or who be deprived of it? Whether the (a) Tyrant of

(a) *The Turke.*  
 (b) *Quid sub*  
*Arcio Rex geli-*  
*de med: tetur*  
*Ore.*

*Asia* threaten vs by sea or land: Or finally. (b) *What the king of the cold countrie vnder the North pole imagineth?* No; none of all these things trouble my braine. I am guarded and fenced against all externall things, and settled within my selfe, carelesse of all cares saue one, which is, that I may bring in subiection this broken and distressed mind of mine to RIGHT REASON and GOD, and subdue all humane and earthly things to my MIND. That whensoever my fatal day shall come, I may be readie with a good courage ioyfully to welcome

come him, and depart this life, not as thrust out at the windows, but as let out at the dore. This is my recreation (*Lipsius*) in my gardens. These be the fruits which I will not exchange (so long as I am in my right mind) for all the treasure of *Persia* and *India*.

### CHAPT. III.

*An exhortation therefore vnto Wisedome. By it we come to Constancie. Young men are seriously admonished to ioyne the graue studie of Philosophy with those other studies that be more pleasant and plausible.*

**T**HUS *Langius* made an ende of speaking; And with his last profound & constant talk, I confesse he made me amazed. Yet recalling my self, Oh happie man (said I) both in tranquillitie and troubles! O more than manly courage in a man which wold to God I were able in some measure to imitate, and to creepe after your footsteps, although I came farre behind. Here *Langius* reprehending me, what talke you of imitating? you may easily exceed me: and not onely follow, but far passe mee. For I my selfe (*Lipsius*) haue trode but verie little in this path of Constancie and vertue. Neither am I to bee compared as yet to valiant and good men, but perchance am a little better than the most effeminate and worst sort. But thou, whose towardlines is lusty and quick, set thy selfe forwards, & vnder my conduct enter into this high-way which leadeth directly to *Stablenes* and *Constancie*. The way that I speak of, is wisdom: whose euen & easie track I pray & admonish thee, that thou cease not to tread. Hast thou delighted in learning, & the companie of those (a) nine sisters: I like it wel, knowing that by this lighter & pleasant kind of learning, the mind is prepared & made readie (b) not being fit before to receive the sacred seed. Howbeit

The way to  
*Constancie*  
lyeth open  
vnto all men.  
Which way  
is wisdom.

(a) *The Musen*  
(b) *Augustines*  
words and  
iudgment in  
his 1. booke of  
order.

Therefore we  
condemne  
Philologie,  
which is, loue  
of talk or e-  
loquence.

Except wee  
ioine there-  
withal philo-  
tophic, which  
is, loue of  
wisedome.

I allow not that thou shuldest stay there, and make that both the beginning and perfection of all thy studies. These must be the foundation not the selfe work: The way to the mark, but not the goale or mark it self that we run at. If thou were bidden to a banquet, I trowe thou wouldest not only taste of Marchpanes & iunkers, but first settle thy stomack with some stronger meat: why should not the like be done in this publike feast of learning? Why (I say) ioyne we not to the firme food of Philosophy, with the sweet delicates of Orators and Poets? Mistake me not, I do not condemne these latter, but commend them in their place: and I would haue those loose wandring Nymphes to be brided (as I may say) by some seuerer *Bacchus*.

The wooers that *Homer* writeth of are worthely scoffed, who missing of *Penelope*, became suiters to her maides. Beware thou do not likewise, and forsaking the ladie of all, fall in loue with her seruants. It is a plausible kind of praise to be called a learned man: but better to be called a wise man; and best of all to haue the title of a good man. Let vs follow this, and by many labours let vs not couet to know alone, but to be wise and do thereafter.

*How little worth is learnings skill,*

*Where wisedome is not present still?*

The dishone-  
stie and vaine  
folly of some  
learned men.

(a) *Num-  
mis ad nu-  
merandum.*

So saith the olde versetrulie. How many are there at this day of the trayne of the Muses that doe disgrace both themselues and the name of learning? Some, for that they are replenished with vices and wikednes: Many for that they be vaine, vnconstant, only speculatiue, and giuen to no fruitfull or profitable studie. What though they vnderstande Greeke and Latine Authors: That is all, they doe nothing but vnderstand the. And as *Anacharsis* spake pretily of the Athenians, that they vsed (a) mony only to cast accoüts withal: so these men haue their knowledge to no end, but to know. So little

care



care haue they of their life and deeds (in my conceit) that it is not without cause that learning is so ill spoken of among the multitude, as if it were a Mistresse to vngodlines. Howbeit good letters being rightly vsed are a directory vnto vertue, couple wisdom with the; vnto the which learning ought to prepare and frame our wits, not to detaine or challenge them to it selfe. For as some trees will beare no fruite, except they grow neere vnto others that be of the male kind: No more wil these tender Virgins (I mean good letters) vnlesse they be conioyned with the manly courage of wisdom.

What is the true end and vse of learning.

Why dost thou correct the writings of *Tacitus*, if thy owne life be vncorrected? why dost thou illustrate *Tranquillus*, thy selfe being in the darke myst of errors? Why art thou so careful in purging *Plautus* from faultes and imperfections, when thy owne minde is full of foule filth and fluttishnesse? Giue thy selfe at length to better studies; and get learning that may serue thee not for vaine ostentation, but to some good vse and purpose. Apply thy selfe to wisdom, which may amend thy euill maners, set at rest and beautifie thy distempered and vncleane mind: She only is able to imprint vertue, & to work the impression of CONSTANCIE in thee, and to set open vnto thee the Temple of A GOOD MIND.

An exhortation therunto

### CHAPT. V.

*That wisdom is not obtained by wishing, but by working. Returning to the former talke of Constancie, That desire of learning is a good signe in youth.*

**T**His admonition wrought in mee an earnest desire which I could not conceale: and thereupon I saide: My father, in heart and mind I follow you, when shall I be able in deeds so to doe: When will that day come

Wisdomē is  
not had with  
wishing.

wherein I shall be free from all these cares that trouble mee,  
and tread the trace that leadeth vnto true widdome, where-  
by I may attain to **CONSTANCY**? *Langius* taking me  
vp short, What? Doest thou betake thy selfe to wishing, ra-  
ther than doing? It is spoken fondlie, and as the common  
sort of men vseth. For it cannot be that as fables make men-  
tion how *Cireus* with a wish was transformed from a wo-  
man into a man; so thou shouldst of a foole bee sodenly  
made wise, and of a light person, become constant with wi-  
shing. Thou must bestow thy labour with al, and (as the say-  
ing is) ioyne handes with heart. Seeke, read, learne. I knowe  
(*Langius*) saide I, that I must doe so, but I pray you set too  
your helping hande, and proceede forwards in your ye-  
sterdayes talk that was interrupted by going to supper. Re-  
turne againe to **CONSTANCIE**, the ceremonies of  
whose honour hauing bene begun to bee celebrated, may  
not be discontinued without sacriledge.

A returning  
to the first  
communica-  
tion that was  
interrupted.

*Langius* shaking his head a little. No *Lipsius* (quoth he) I  
will not doe it, least I shut vp my selfe againe in this school-  
house: This is no place fit for our purpose, which thou  
knowest yvell I made for mine ease, not for my paines:  
we will at some other time prosecute that argument. Nay,  
euen now (quoth I) for what place is more meete for such  
wise communication, then that your schoole of wisedome?  
I mean your faire summer-house, which to me is (as it were)  
a Temple, and the table therein in stead of an altar, where  
sitting we may rightlie sacrifice to this Saint. And againe, I  
haue a guesse of good lucke therehence. What is that? said  
*Langius*. That euen as they which sit in Apothecaries shops  
carie with them in their clothes some sauour of the place:  
so I haue good hope that some sent of wisedome wil stick  
in my minde, by residing in her studie. *Langius* laughing  
I feare me (saide he) your coniecture is so light that it vwill  
weigh

weigh iust nothing. Yet let vs goe thither *Lippius*, For I tell thee without dissimulation, this honest ardent desire of thine somewhat moueeth and prouoketh mee. And as they that search for water-springes, when they perceauē in the morning a steame rising out of the earth, doe make coniecture that Waters lie there vnderneath: So I haue great good hope of the fruitfull streames of vertue; when I see and beholde in a young man an earnest desire of learning. And with those wordes he brought me to his bower-house, and into it: he set him downe at the table. I turning me to the boyes that were there, Hee sirs (quoth I) stande you and keepe vvatch. And first of all, lock fast the doore. And heare yee mee? If anie bodie come in hither to vs a-liue, you shall die for it. I will haue neither man, nor dog nor woman to be let in: no not GOOD FORTVNE her selfe, if she come. Then *Langius* laughing out-right, saide, haue you at any time bene a Vice-roy, your mandates are so maiestically and seuerē. I vviss (quoth I) it behooueth me to beware by the hard warning we had <sup>(a)</sup> yesternight. Hold you on your talk in Gods name.

The loue and earnest desire of learning, is a token of a good nature & disposition

(a) See the latter end of the last chapter of the first booke.

## CHAPT. VI.

*The third argument for Constancy, taken from PROFIT.*

*That calamities are good for vs, whether we respect their beginning, or end. For the originall of them is of God, who is eternallie and immutablie good: And therefore not the cause of anie euill.*

**L** *Angius* not meditating long, began thus. In the communication that I had yesterday of Constancie, I will constantlie perseuer: following the same methode, & containing my tongue within those boundes which I



A brief repetition of some what before spoken.

The third argument taken from *Profite*. The force thereof.

before prescribed. You knowe that I had foure bandes or troupes of soldiers to fight for **CONSTANCY** against your **SORROW** and dispaire of courage; wherof I haue trained into the field the two former, which were of *Providence* and *Necessity*. And I prooued sufficiently that publike calamities were sent from God alone: Also that they were necessary, and by no flying away to be auoyded. Now I set forwards my third troupe, vnder the leading of **PROFITE**, wherein serueth the Legion which I may well tearme **AIDING**. A valiant and politike troupe it is, if you marke it well. For I know not how it creepeth softly and insinuateth it selfe into the minds of men, & with a kind of flattering force ouercommeth them willingly. It stealeth, rather than rusheth vpon vs: inticeth, not enforceth: and we are as easilie led by profite, as drawne by necessitie. This *Profite* (*Lipsius*) I oppose against thee & thy weake bands.

That the publike evils, as we call them, are indeed good, because they come of God

I say these publike calamities which we suffer are profitable vnto vs accompanied with an inward fruit and commoditie. Do we call them **EVILS**? Nay rather they are good, if we pluck aside the vaile of Opinions, and cast our eyes to the beginning and end of them: whereof the one is from God; the other for good. The original of these miseries (as I prooued plainly yesterday) is of God: That is, not only of the chiefest good, but also of the authour, head and fountaine of al goodnes: from whom it is as impossible that any euil should proceed, as it is for him selfe to be euill. The diuine power is bountifull and healthfull, refusing to doe or receiue harme; whose chiefe vertue is to do good. Therefore the Auncients though they were voyde of the knowledge of God, yet hauing some conceit of him in their braine, called him (*a*) *Iuppiter a iuuando*; that is, of helping. Doest thou imagine that he is angrie, or chollericke, and casteth, as it were those noisome dartes among men? Thou art

Who is bountifull and helping. (*a*) *Iuppiter quasi iuuans pater, that is, a helping father.*

deceiued

deceiued. Anger, wrath, reuenge, are names of humaine affections; and proceeding from a naturall frailty & weaknes, are incident only to weaklings. But that diuine spirite doeth still perseuer in his bountie: and those same bitter pills which he ministreth to vs as medicines, though sharpe in taste, yet are they wholsome in operation. Well was it said by that prince of Philosophers, *God doth no euill, neither is the cause of any.* Better and more significantly spake our wise-maister; *What is the cause that God doth good? His own nature. He is deceiued who soeuer thinketh that God can, or will do hurt. He can neither suffer nor do wrong. The first worship of God is, to beleene him. Then to attribute to him his maiestie, and also his goodness, without the which ther is no maiestie: to know that it is he which is gouernor of the world, that ruleth all things as his own, that taketh vpon him the tuition of all man-kind, yea more carefully of euerie particular person. He neither doth euill to others, nor bath any in himselfe.*

those euils are not sent as punishment.

But as medicines.

Plato.

Seneca.

CHAPT. VII.

*Likewise, that the end of calamities tendeth alwaies to good, albeit they be effected often times by hurtful persons, and for harmes sake: But God breaketh and brideleth their force. And that all things are turned to our benefit. By the way is shewed why God useth the instrument of wicked men, in inflicting calamities.*

**T** Herefore, these calamities are good in respect of their beginning: and likewise in regarde of their ende, because they are euer directed to good and safety; (surely in good men) Thou wilt obiect and say, howe can this be? Is it not euident that these warres and slaughters are committed with an intent to harme and hurt? It is true so, in respect of men, but not in respect of God: which that thou maist more plainly and fully conceiue, I must apply the light of a distinction. There be two sortes of calamities sent from God,

Publike calamities are good. Because the end of them is euer good.

There be two sortes of them

L

God,

Some immediatlye from God, others by the means and ministry of men.

God: some *Simple*, some *mixt*. The first I call those which proceed *purely from God without any interposition of mans policy or force*. The second, *Which are of God, yet wrought by the ministerie of men*. Of the former kind are famine, death, earth-quakes, openings of the earth, ouerflowings of waters, sicknes, death. Of the latter are tyrannie, warre, oppression, slaughters. In those first all thinges are pure and without spot, as springing from a most pure fountain. In the latter I deny not but there is some filth and mixt, because they are conueighed & diriuied through the foule conduites of affections. Is man a meane for effecting them? what maruell then is it, if there be a fault and offence committed in accomplishing them? maruell thou more at the prouident goodnes of God, who conuerteth that fault to our furtherance, and the offence to our good. Seest thou a tyrant breathing out threatnings & murthers: whose delight is in doing harme? which could be content to perish himselfe, so he may persecute others? Let him alone; he strayeth from his right mind. And God (as it were) (by an inuisible string leadeth him to his destruction. As an arrow commeth to the marke without any feeling of him that shot it: so doe these wicked ones. For that supreme power bridleth and keepeth vnder al mens power, and directeth their straying course to the happy hauen. As in an Army the souldiers haue sundry affections; one fighting for prairie, another for prayse, another for hatred, yet they all in their princes quarrell and for the victorie: So all mens wils bee they good or bad, fight vnder God, and among sundrie and manifolde endes, at length they come all to this end of ends, as I may say.

In the last sort there is some fault admixt:

Which God wipeth away in respect of vs.

For he draweth all purposes to his own purpose.

Neither is it any iniury that God inflicteth his chastisements by others.

But thou wilt demaunde, vwhy God vseth the meanes of euill men? Why doeth hee not inflict those grieuous punishmentes immediatlye himselfe, or els by the ministerie of good men? O man, thou art too curious in enquiring; neither



neither doe I knowe whether it lie in my power to open these secretes vnto thee. This I knowe well, that he hath reason of his doinges, euen then when wee are furthest off from perceauing any. And yet vvhath strange or newe thing is this? The President of a prouince commaundeth an offender to bee punished by the lawes, yet the punisher to be some beadle or Sergeant. The father of a great familie sometimes correcteth his sonne himselfe, otherwhiles he commandeth a seruant or schoole-maister to doe it. Why should wee not graunt vnto God so much authoritie as to them? Why shall not hee when it pleaseth him scourge vs with his owne hande; and againe when it seemeth good to him, by the meanes of others; For therein is no wrong or iniurie. Is the seruant that punisheth angrie with thee? Hath he an intent to doe thee harme? It maketh no matter, haue thou respect to the minde of him that commanded. For thy Father who required it, standeth by, & hee will not suffer thee to haue one stripe more than his own appointmēt

But why is sin mixt herewithal, and the poyson of passions fastened to these diuine darts? Thou driuest me now to a steep mountaine, yet I will assay to clime vp. God, to the end he might shew forth his wisdom and great power, (a) *Hath thought it better* (The words be Augustines) *to make good of euil, thē to permit no euil at al:* for what is wiser or better thē he which can gather good from those euil, & turn things to health and safety, that were deuised to destruction? wee praise the physitian that compoundeth the venomous viper with his triacle to work a wholesome effect: why wilt thou control God, if to these healthfull dregs of calamities and afflictions, he ad some faultes of men without any offence to thee: for surely hee boyleth away & consumeth to nothing that poyson adioyned, with the secret purging fire of his prouidence. Finally it maketh for the aduancement of his power

Not yet, that the sinne of men is mixt therewith. The cause thereof. (a) In his *Enchiridion.*

The wicked  
do vnwittingly  
lie and vn-  
willingly  
serue God.

and glory, whereto he referreth all things necessarily. For what is more able to expresse his mightie power, than that he doth not only vanquish his enemies that withstand him, but so ouer-ruleth them, that he draweth them to his partie? That they fight in his quarrel? And beare armes for his victorie: which thing daylie commeth to passe, when Gods will is perfourmed in the wicked, but not of the wicked. When those things which vngodly men do against his will, he turneth them so that they come not to passe without his will.

(a) The words  
of Scuerinus  
Boethius in his  
book of comfort

And what stranger miracle can there be, (a) *thenthat wicked men should make them good, that were euil before.*

Behold, thou *C. Cesar* shalt help a little to our purpose. Go thy way and tread vnder foot two things religiously to bee esteemed, to wit, thy country and son in law: This thy ambition (vnawares to thee) shal do seruice to God, and to thy country, against which it aspired; for it shal be the restoring and preseruing of the Romane state. Thou *Attila* thirsting after blood & booty, hast thee hither frō the vttermost ends of the earth; take to thee by strong hand, slay, burn, & waste; This thy cruelty shall fight for God, and do nothing els but stir vp the Christians which were drowned and buried in vain delights & pleasures. What do you, ye two *Vespatians*? Destroy the country of *Iewrie* and the people: take and sacke the holy citie. To what end: You verely do it for your glorie and the augmentation of your Empire: but ye erre. Ye are onely the Beadles & Sergeants of Gods seuerer punishments vpon that vngodlie nation. Go to, euen you (peradventure) that put the Christians to death at *Rome*, reuenge the death of Christ in *Iewrie*.

(b) *ab Hespero*  
*præses sine ab*  
*Aurora. In the*  
*Latine he allu-*  
*deeth pretily to*  
*the country, and*  
*lawful title of*  
*their prince, by*  
*a double signifi-*  
*cation of the*  
*word. For He-*

And now, O thou that art our president, whether it bee from (b) West or East, what intendest thou by this war and bloody weapons? Euen to strengthen the empery of thy kingdom, and the power of thy owne nation, But in vaine.

For

For thou art nothing els but a whip & scourge of the wan-  
 ron and lasciuious Flemings, We know not how to con-  
 coct our great felicities, without the help of these Neronian  
 hoate bathes. These examples are occurrent in all ages,  
 where we see that God by the wicked lustes of some men,  
 hath accomplished his owne good pleasure: and by the iniu-  
 stice of other men, hath executed his iust judgments wher-  
 fore (*Lipsius*) let vs admire this hidden force of his wisdome,  
 and not aspire to know it: and let vs bee assured that all these  
 great afflictions are to good end and purpose, although this  
 blind mind of ours perceiue it not, or slowly attaine to the  
 vnderstanding therof. For the true ends of afflictions are of-  
 ten hid from vs, which notwithstanding shal haue their due  
 course though to vs vnknown; not vnlike to certain riuers,  
 which being remooued from our sight, and running vnder  
 the ground, are yet caried into their own sea.

*sporus significat  
 the euening  
 star, or West:  
 And Hesperia,  
 is taken for  
 Spaine. And  
 Proeses expres-  
 seth the right-  
 ful title of their  
 Lord or soue-  
 raigae.  
 The ends of  
 publike cala-  
 mities be of-  
 tentimes hid  
 and secret,*

## CHAPT. VIII.

*It is here more distinctlie spoken of the endes themselues. They bee  
 threefold. To whom euery of them doth agree. Then somewhat  
 more at large touching Exercising, which profiteth good men  
 more wayes than one: by strengthening, by proouing, by giuing  
 example to others.*

**B**Vt if it be lawful for me to hoise sailes, & carie my ship  
 deeper into this sea of diuine matters, I could (happily)  
 speak somewhat of the ends themselues more plainlie &  
 more profoundly: First adding that saying of *Homer*: *If  
 it lie in my power, or if the thing it selfe wil admit the same.* For  
 there be some of those ends which it seemeth I can well y-  
 nough conceiue my selfe and make knowne to others: some  
 also there be which I perceiue doubtfully and with a confu-  
 sed sight. Of the first kind of ends which are certain, be these  
 three. *Exercising, Chastising, Punishment.* For if thou marke it  
 it wel thou shalt find that these grieuous afflictions sent of

*The ends of  
 afflictions, or  
 miseries,*



First exerci-  
sing of vs.

Which hel-  
peth vs three  
waies.

1. By streng-  
thening vs.

God do commonly either exercise the good, chastice offenders or punish the wicked; and al this for our good. And to stand a whiles vpon explaining the first branch, wee see dayly the best sort of men to be subiect to calamities either priuately or els to be partakers thereof with the wicked: Wee marke and maruel thereat, because wee neither sufficiently conceiue the cause, nor consider the consequence thereof. The cause is Gods loue towards vs, and not hatred. The end or consequence, not our hurt, but our benefit. For this our exercising furthereth vs more waies than one: it confirmeth or strengtheneth vs; it trieth or prooueth vs; it maketh vs mirrours of patience vnto others.

It doth strengthen vs, for that the same is (as it were) our school-house wherin God traineth vp his seruantes in Constancy and vertue. Wee see those that exercise the feates of wrestling or barriers endure many hard trials, that they may get the mastery: so think that we ought to do in this warfare of aduersitie. For why? that same our trainer & master of the game is such a one as requireth patience and paines, not only vnto sweating, but euen to bleeding. Thinkest thou that he will handle his schollers tenderly? that he will dandle them with delights vpon his knee? No, he will not doe so. Mothers for the most do corrupt their children, and make them wantons with tender bringing vp: but their fathers hold thē in aw with more seuerity. God is our father, therefore he loueth vs truly, yet with seuerity. If thou wilt bee a Marriner, thou must be taught in tempests. If a souldier, in perils. If thou bee a man indeed, why refuseth thou afflictions? seeing ther is none other way to constancy. Doest thou consider those lither and lazie bodies vpon whom the Sun seldom shineth, or the wind bloweth, or any sharp aire breatheth? Euen such are the minds of these nice folke that feele nothing but felicity, whom the least blast of aduersle fortune bloweth downe, and resolueth into nought. Therefore ad-  
uersitie

uerſitie doth confirme and ſtrengthen vs. And as trees that be much beaten with the winde, take deeper roote: ſo good men are the better containd within the compalle of vertue, being ſometimes aſſaulted with the ſtormes of aduerſity.

They do moreouer proue and trie vs. Els how could any man be aſſured of his own proceeding and firmneſſe in vertue: if the wind blow alwaies merrily a ſterne, the Pilot ſhall haue no opportunitie to try his cunning. If all things ſucceed proſperouſly and happily to a man, ther is no place to make prooſe of his vertue: for the only true leuell to trie withall, is affliction; *Demetrius* ſaid worthily *I account nothing more unfortunate than that man which neuer had feeling of aduerſitie.* Very true it is. For our General doth not ſpare ſuch ſouldiers, but miſtruſteth them, neither doeth he affect and loue, but deſpiſe and contemne them. I ſay he doeth caſſier them out of his company as baſe *Befonians* and daſtards.

Finally, they ſerue in ſteed of mirrours or preſidents. For that the conſtancy & patience of good men in miſeries, is as a cleare light to this obture world. They prouoke others the runto by their example, and tread the path wherein they ſhuld walk. *Bius* loſt both his goods & cuntry, but his words ſound in the ears of men at this day; *That they ſhould carie all their goods about them.* *Regulus* was vnworthily put to death by torment; but his worthy example of keeping promiſe liueth yet. *Papinianus* was murdered by a tyrant: but the ſame butcherly axe that cut off his head, emboldneth vs to ſuffer death for iuſtice ſake. Finally, ſo many notable citizens we ſee to be violently & iniuriouſly either baniſhed or murdered: but out of the riuers of their blood we do (as it were) drink vertue & conſtancy euery day: Al which things ſhuld lie hid in darke corners of obliuion, were it not for the bright firebrands of theſe cōmon afflictions and calamities. For as coſtly ſpices do giue a ſweet ſauor far off, if they be bruifed: euen ſo the ſame of vertue is ſpread abroad, whē it is preſſed with aduerſity,

2. By prouing vs.

3 By giuing example to others.

*Bias, omnia mea mecum porto.*

## CHAPT. IX.

*Of Chastisement, which is the second ende. It is proued to be for our behoofe, two manner of waies.*

Aduerfity for  
our chastice-  
ment.

Which cor-  
rection doth  
either blot  
out, and wipe  
away our of-  
fences.

**A**N other ende why God sendeth afflictions, is for our Chastisement: which I say is the best and gentlest that may be for our amendment. It helpeth and healeth vs two manner of waies. Eyther as a whippe when we haue offended: Or as a bridle to holde vs backe from offending. As a whip, because it is our fathers hande that dooth often scourge vs when wee doo amisse: but it is a butcherly fist that striketh seldome, and then payeth home for all at once. As fire or water are vsed to purge filth: So is this Purgatorie of persecutions to our sinnes. This whip (*Lipsius*) is now worthilie bestowed vpon vs. We Flemings haue of a long time falne in the lapse, and beeing corrupted with delights and excessse of wealth, we haue wandered in the slipperie pathes of viciousnesse: But that great God dooth admonish & gentlie reclaime vs, giuing vs a fewe stripes, that beeing warned thereby, we may come againe to our selues, yea rather to him. He hath taken from vs our goodes, which we abused to luxuriousnesse. Our liberty, which wee abused licentiousslie. And so with this gentle correction of calamities, he dooth (as it were) purge and washe away our wickednesse. A right gentle correction it is. For alasse, what a slender satisfaction may we call it? It is said that when the Persians woulde punish any Noble man, they tooke from him his garments and hood, and hanging those vppe, did beate them in stead of the man: euen so dooth this our father, who in all his chastisements toucheth not vs, but our bodies, our fieldes, our wealth, and all externall things.

Likewise Chastisement serueth as a bridle, which hee  
raineth



rayneth fitlie, when he seeth vs running to wickednes. As Physitians do sometimes vpon good aduise let blood, not that the partie is sicke, but to preuent sicknes: So God by these afflictions taketh away something from vs, which els would foster and nourish vices in vs. For he knoweth the nature of all men, which created them all. He iudgeth not of diseases by the vaines, or colour: But by the very heart and inwardes. Doth he see the Tuscanewits to bee sharpe and waspish? He keepeth them vnder with a prince. Doth he see the Switzers to be of disposition peaceable & quiet? He giueth them libertie. The Venetians to bee of a meane betweene both? He permitteth to them a mixt or meane kind of government. All which peraduēture he wil change in time, if those people alter their dispositions. Yet notwithstanding we murmure, saying, Why are we longer afflicted with warre, than others? Or why are wee helde in more cruell bondage? O foole, and sicke at the very heart! art thou wiser than God? Tell me, why doeth the Physitian minister to one patient more Wormewood or Lingwort, than to another? Forsooth because the disease or disposition of the party so requireth. Euen so think thou of thy self. He seeth this people haplie to be somewhat stubborne and therefore that they must be kept vnder with corrections: an other nation more meeke that may be brought vnder obedience onely with shaking of the rod. But it may bee that vnto thee it seemeth otherwise. VVhat maketh that to the matter? Parents will not suffer kniues or weapons in the hands of their childe, though he weepe for it, because they foresee the daunger: why shoulde God geue vs too much of our wil to our own destruction? Sith indeed wee be very babes, and know not how to asle things that bee for our health, nor to auoyd that is hurtfull. Nothwithstanding, if needs thou wilt, vveepe thy fil: yet shalt thou drink of the cup of afflictions which that heauenly physitian offereth thee full o the brimme, not without good aduise.

Or else doth  
terrific & with  
draw vs from  
committing  
them.

For it is vsed  
as a preuentiō.

By him who  
knoweth all  
inward disease  
yea the least  
dispositions  
in vs.

Therefore we  
do in vaine &  
vndaduise dlie  
search the se-  
cretes of his  
medicines.

For he appoi-  
neth them accor-  
ding to the  
diuersitie of  
natures.

Finallie that  
our iudgments  
are not sound  
in our owne  
cale.

## CHAPT. X.

*Finally that punishment it selfe is good and wholsome, in respect of God, of men, and of the party that is punished.*

Calamities for  
punishments  
sake.

Which punish-  
ment is bitter,  
but yet good  
both in respect  
of god, & men.

**B**Vt PUNISHMENT I confesse belongeth to euill men, and yet is not it euill. For first it is good if wee haue respect vnto God, whose eternal and inuiolable law of iustice requireth that mens faults be either cured, or cut off. Now chastement reformeth those that may be amended: punishment cutteth awaie the incurable. It is good againe in regard of men, among whome no societie can stand or continue, if busie and vngodly wittes may practice what they please vncontrolled. And as it is expedient for the securitie of each priuate person to haue execution done vpon a particular theefe or murderer: So is it behouefull in generall, that the like iustice be shewed vpon notorious publicke malefactors. These punishments vpon tirants and spoilers of the whole world, most necessarily be inflicted somtimes, that they may bee mirrors to admonish vs, *That it is the eie of iustice which be- holdeth all things.* Which also may crye out to other princes and people.

(a) *Discina iustli  
iam moniti, es  
non temere di-  
nos, Aeneid. li. 6*

(a) *Learn iustice now by this, and God aboue despise no more.*

And also in re-  
spect of them  
that are puni-  
shed.

(a) *ἡλώσεις οὐ  
τιμωρία  
which Aristotle  
finely distinguish-  
beth*

Thirdly punishment is good in respect of those that be punished: for it is not properly vengeaunce or reuenge, neither doth the gentle deietie *punish rigorously in rage.* As a wicked Poet said wel: But it is onely a prohibition & restraint frō wickednes. And as y<sup>e</sup> Grecians significantly do expresse it (b) CHASTICEMENT not REVENGE-  
MENT. As death is many times sent to goodmen before they fall into a greuous sin: So it happeneth to those that be desparatly wicked in the middes of their vn godlines, which they do loue so much y<sup>e</sup> they cannot be drawne frō it except they be clean cut off. Therefore god stoppeth

vs of

of our vnrule course, gently taking away offenders and such as are rüning into sin. To conclude, al punishment is good, in respect of Iustice; as impunitie or lacke of due correction is euill, which suffereth men to liue till they be more and more wicked, that is, miserable. *Boethius* spake wittilie, *The wicked that abide some punishment are happier, then if no rod of Iustice did correct them.* And he yeeldeth a reason, because some good befalleth them (to wit, Correction) which they had not afore in the Catalogue of their faults.

*1. lib. Rhes. reuēge differeth from chastisement. For this is in respect of the sufferer. That of the doer.*

## CHAPT. XI.

*Of the fourth end, which is uncertaine to man. That it apperteineth eyther to the preservation and safetie, Or els to the ornament and beautie of the whole World. Euery of these pointes largely handled.*

**T**He three endes aforesaid (*Lipsius*) are certaine and euident, which I haue passed ouer with sure footing: The fourth remaineth, wherein I wauer, for the same is more secret and farther remoued, then that the capacitie of mans reason can attaine vnto it. I see it onely through a Cloude, and I may coniecture thereat, but not know it: wander towards, but not to it. This end which I speake of is generall, and respecteth either the conseruation of the whole World, or the ornament thereof. And touching the conseruation I doe therefore coniecture, because that same great God, which hath wisely created and ordered all these things, so made them as that he hath disposed them all in (a) *Measure, number, and Weight*, neither is it lawfull for any thing in his kinde to surpasse that meane, without the ouerthrow and ruine of the whole. Euen so those great bodies, the Heauen, the Sea, and Earth haue their bounds: So euery age hath his prescribed number of liuing Creatures. Likewise is it

A certen generall end of all great calamities, respecting the whole world.

Either for the conseruation, or for the ornament thereof.

(a) So saith the Hebrew wise man. *wisedom ca. 11. uerse 17.*



in men, townes, and regions: will any of these exceede their bounds? Then of necessitie some whirlwind and tempest of misfortune must consume them, or else they would hurt and deface the bewtiful frame of this worlde. But it is apparant, that they doo often striue to exceede their number, especially those Creatures that by nature doo engender and increase. Behold men, who can deny that by nature we spring vp a great deale more then die? So that two men doe sometimes within the space of a few yeares procreate a hundred out of their bodies, of whom ten or twenty doe not die. Heards of Cattle also would increase without number, if Butchers did not choose & cull out yeerely, certeine of them for the shambles. Likewise birdes and fishes would in a short space pester the aire and the waters, were it not for fighting and vvarre among themselues, as also deceipts practised against them by men. In euery age Citties and tovvnes are builded, and if burnings or other destructions happened not, our World, nor scarce another would containe them. And so in conceipt thou maiest passe through the nature of all things. Therefore, Is it any maruell, if that olde father of the familie thrust in his sickle into this ranke field, and cut off some superfluous thousandes with pestilence or warre? If he did not so, What Countrey were able to containe vs? What land could affoord vs nourishment? Therefore in Godsname let some partes perish, that the whole perfection of all may be perpetuall. For euen as vnto gouernors of Common-wealthes, the safegarde of the people is the highest law, so is the world to God.

And concerning the bewtie or ornament of y world, my coniecture is two fold. First, for that I can conceiue no trimnesse in this huge engine, without a different change and varietie of things. I knowe that the sunne is most bewtiful: yet the dewie night, and the mantle of that blacke dame put betweene, maketh him to appeere more gracious. The summer is most pleasant, yet the

All creatures & especially the liuing do fructifie and increase abundantly.

Which would grow to an infinite number, were it not for violent and vnnaturall means

Therefore the sith of commo calamities is needfull, to mowe and cut downe.

Or els y world could not continue.

Which god seareth for especially.

Also these great calamities and destructions do adorne and bewtifie the world with a kind of varietie.

win-

winter dooth make it more louely with her ycie marble and white snow. Which things if you take away, in truth you depriue vs of the inward delight and feeling both of sunne and Summer. In this our Earth, one vniform fashion pleaseth me not, but I take pleasure to behold the Champion countrey and mountaines, valties and rocks, Fieldes tilled and Sea sands, meadowes and woods. Satiety and lothsomnesse is euer a companion of vniformity or likenesse. And vppon this stage of my life, whye should one fashion of attire and gesture content me? No, it shal not. But (in my minde) let there be times of great quietnesse, and therein some naughtinesse; which soone after tumults of warres and the rage of cruel tyrants may take away. Who would wish this world to be like a dead Sea, without wind or waues?

But I perceiue moreouer another kinde of ornament, of more account and inward profit. Histories doo teach me, that al thinges become better and quieter, after the stormes of aduersities. Dooth warre vex any Nation? The same dooth also (a) quicken them, and most commonly bringeth in Artes, together with other thinges, that doo diuerslie adorne their wittes. The Romanes in times past, imposed a greuous yoke vppon the necke of the whole world, but yet a yoke that prooued wholesome in the ende; wherby Barbarisme was expelled from our mindes, as the sunne driueth away darkenesse from our eies. What had the Frenchmen, we our selues, and the Germanes beene at this day, if the light of that mighty Empire had not shined vpon vs? Fierce, vnciuill, delighting in slaughters betwixt our selues and others, contemptners of God and men. Euen so (I gesse) it will come to passe with the new world which the Spaniardes haue wasted with a profitable feueritie, and themselues will shortly replenish againe with people, and inhabit it. And as they which haue great nurseries for plants, do remoue some, set others, and cut off other some, ordering them

And in the a.  
mending or  
polishing of  
things, and of  
our minds.

(a) wheress the  
proverb hath re-  
spect, which saith  
That war is the  
father of all sciences.  
or faculties.

A verie fit simi-  
litude.



with skill for their owne good and benefit : Euen so doth God in this wide fielde of the world. For he is a most skilful husband man, and one while he breaketh off som wast branches of families : An other while he croppeth and cutteth away a fewe leaues of particular men . This helpe the stock of the tree, albeit those branches perish, & those leaues are blowne away with the winde. Againe he seeth this nation very bare and barren of vertues : hee castrereth it out . Another rough and vnfruitfull : hee remooueth it. Yea and som he confoundeth among themselues & by grafting maketh (as it were) a medley of them. You Italians waxen feeble and effeminate in the declining of your Empire, why do ye hold the best cūtry of the world? Geue place. Let the sterne and sturdy Lumbards manure with more happines this soile. You wicked & wāton Grecians, perish ye vtterly: And let those cruel Scythians be set led & wax mild in your cuntry. And moreouer with a certen confusion of nations you French men posses Gaule : ye Saxons, Britanie: ye Normans, seaze vpon Belgica and the territories bordering . All which matters (Lipsius) and many more are manifest out of histories and by the euentes of things, to any diligent reader.

Comfort drawen from the end of calamities.

Therefore let vs lift vp our selues, and whatsoeuer damage we sustaine priuately, let vs know that it doth good in some part of the whole world. The rooting out of one nation or kingdom, is the raising vppe of an other : The decay of one tower, the building of an other : And no thinge properly dyeth or perisheth heere, but altereth. Are we Flemings alone in accompte and estimation before God? Alone continually happie, and fortunes white sonnes ? O fooles ! That greate gran-dam hath many moe children, whom we must bee contented that shee cherish and lull in her lappe one after another, because she either can not, or will not dally with them all at once. The sunne hath shined with his bright beames a longe time vpon vs : Now let it be nighte with vs awhile, and let



let the glittering light illuminate the Spaniards and farthest western parts. Seneca (after his manner) sayth fitly and profoundly to this purpose. *A wise man should not take in ill parte what soeuer happeneth vnto him: But let him know that those selfe things which seeme to annoy him, do belong to the preservation of the whole world, and are of the number of those things that do consummate the course & office of the whole.*

## CHAPT. XII.

*An old and common obiection against Gods iustice, why punishments be not equal. Such inquiry is remoued from men, and declared to be vngodly.*

**H**ere whiles *Langius* paused a little, I spake thus: As a faire water-spring to traouellers in sommer: So is your talke to me. It cherisheth, refresheth, and with a cooling kinde of moisture qualifyeth my feuer and feruent heat: But yet it qualifyeth, not quencheth the same. There sticketh a thorne in my mind (which also pricked the Auncients) touching equality of punishments. For what (*Langius*) if that equal ballance of iustice if this sword of afflictions

Gods iustice  
(vpon occasion) is accused.

*Lucretius.*

As though punishments and afflictions were not equally distributed, nor deseruedlie.

*Doth oftentimes let wicked men go free,  
And slay such folke as good and harmlesse bee?*

Why (I say) are some innocent people rooted out and the children and posteritie afflicted for the faults of their Auncestors? This is a thicke miste in my eyes, which (if you can) disperse with the bright beames of reason. *Langius* with a wrinkeled forehead, yea younker (quoth hee) are you so soone gone astray againe? I will none of that. For as skilfull huntsmen suffer not their hounde to range, but to follow one and the same deere: So woulde I haue thee to tread onely in those foote steppes which I haue traced out vnto thee. I woulde beate into thy brayne the endes of afflictions to the intente that if thou

thou be good, thou mayest thinke thy selfe to bee exercised: if fallen, to be lifted vppe: if vtterly naught, to be punished. And now thou drawest me to the causes. Wandring minde! What meanest thou by this curious carefullnesse? Wilt thou needes feele those celestially fires? They will melt thee like wax. Wilt thou clime vppe into the Tower of prouidence? Thou shalt soone fall down headlong. As butter-flies, and other little flies doo by night flutter so long about the candle, till it burne them: Euen so dooth mans mind dally about that secret celestial flame.

But the search therof is shewed to bee aboue mans capacite.

Which is ioynd with daunger of a downe fall.

And wherein we are meerly pore-blind.

whatfoeuer God will, is therefore right, because he willetch it.

<sup>a</sup> which was mis-silie spoken by Salust, and applied to Tiberius in the high Empire, Tacit. l. An. aed.

Shewe me the causes (sayest thou) why the vengeance of God ouer-skipeth some, and whippeth others? Dost thou seek the causes? I say most safely, that I know them not. For the heavenly Court neuer comprehended me, nor I the decrees thereof. Of this onely I am assured, that Gods will is a cause aboue all causes; beyond which, who so seeketh another, is ignorant of the efficacie and power of the diuine nature. For it is necessarie, that euery cause be in a sort, before and greater then his effect: but nothing is before, nor greater than God and his will, therefore there is no cause thereof. God hath pardoned: God hath punished: what wilt thou haue more? *The will of God is the chiefe Iustice*, as *Saluianus* saith well and godly. Yet ye say, we require a reason of this inequality. Of whome? Of God? To whom that is lawfull whatfoeuer him liketh; and nothing liketh him but that which is lawfull. If the seruant cal his maister, or the subiect his Soueraigne to account; the tone may take it in contempt, & the tother as treason. And art thou more bold with God? Fie vpon such peruerse curiositie. *(a) This reason cannot stand otherwise, then if it be rendred to no man.* And yet when thou hast doone all that thou art able, thou shalt not cleere thy selfe out of the darke mistes of ignorance, nor be partaker of those meere mystical councelles and decrees. It is excellently spoken by *Sophocles*, *Thou*

*shalt*

*Shalte neuer attaine to the knowledge of heauenlythinges, if God conceale them: nor of them all, though thou bestowe thy labour euer therein.*

## CAPT. XIII.

*Yet to certifie the Curious, three old obiections are answered. And firste touching euill men not punished. Wee proue they are reprimed, and pardoned. And that either in respect of men themselues, or in regarde of Gods nature, which is slow to punish.*

**T**His plaine & broad way (Lipsius) is onely safe here: All others be deceauceable and slippery. In diuine and heauenly matters, it is the sharpest sight to see nought; and the only knowledge to know nothing. Yet because this cloud hath of old time, and nowe doth compasse mens wittes, I will wind thee out of it shortly, if I can. And will wash away that that sticketh by thee, with this riuer here at hand. O thou celestiall and eternall spirite (there with he cast his eies on high) pardon and forgiue me if in these profound misteries I vtter any thing impure or vngodly, yet with a godly intent. And first I may generally defend the iustice of God with his owne blow. Yf God behould the affaires of men, he hath care of them: if he haue care, he gouerneth them: if hee gouerne, hee doth it with iudgement: if with iudgement, how can it be without iustice? which if it be wanting ther is no regiment nor gouerment at all, but disorder, confusion, and trouble. What hast thou to oppose against this weapon? what shilde or armour? Say the truth, onely mans ignorance. I vnderstand not (saist thou) why these should be punished, and those not. Well saide. Wilt thou therefore ioyne impudencie to thy ignorance? And because thou comprehendest not the power of the diuine and pure lawe, wilt thou carpe at it? what more vnjuste

Simpliffitic & modestie are acceptable to God.

Whose iustice is generallie proued.

Which onely our ignoraunce accuicth.



reason would be alleadged against iustice? if some stranger should vtter his coniectures of the lawes and ordinances of thy cuntry, thou wouldest bid him hold his tongue and be gone, because he hath not the knowledge of them: And doest thou, An inhabitant of this earth rashly condemne the vnknowne lawes of heauen? Thou creature, thy creator? yet goe to, take thy pleasure, I will close neerer with thee, searching distinctly the thicke mists of these thy cauilles by the cleere sunne of reason, as thou requirest. Thou obiectest three things, That GOD letteth scape offenders. That he punisheth innocentes. That hee putteth ouer and transferreth his punishmentes from one to an other. I will begin with the first.

By a wrong  
course and  
custome.

All cauills a.  
gainst gods  
iustice be three  
fold.

The first ob-  
iection answe-  
red, touching  
the escaping of  
malefactor s.

For God omit-  
teth present  
punishment  
but he doth  
not remit it.

Neither is god  
deceaued by  
this forbea-  
uance.

Thou saist that the vengeance of God doth not well to ouerpasse the wicked. Yea, doth it ouerpasse them? No, I thinke rather it forbeareth them onely for a time. If I haue greate deptes owing me, and if it please me to exacte my due of one depter presently, and to beare with another for a longer time, who can blame me? for it is at my owne good will and pleasure. Euen so doth that greate God; Of whome whereas all naughtie men haue deserued punishment, hee exacteth it of some presently, and beareth with others to bee payd afterwarde with interest. What vnrightousnes is here, except it be so y<sup>e</sup> thou take thought for God, & feare least he be indemnified by this his bountifull forbearance. But alas seely man! Thou arte more affraide then hurt. Neuer shall any man deceaued this greate creditor. Whither soeuer wee flye, we are all in his sight, yea in bondes and fetters to him. But thou saist, I would haue such a tirant to be presently punished, that by his death at this time, satisfaction may be made to so many whom he hath oppressed; So shal the iustice of God be made more manifest vnto vs. Nay, thou bewrayest hereby thy blockishnes. For who art thou that dost not onely appoint God how, but also prescribe him  
when

when to punish? Thinkest thou that he is thy iudge, or onely a sericant or vnder-officer? Goe, leade him hence, whip him, muffle his face, hange him vpon a cursed tree, for so it seemeth good in my eies. Fie vpon this impudencie. Vnto God it seemeth otherwise, whom thou must vnderstand to see much better in this case then thy selfe, and to haue another end in punishing. Thou arte provoked with choller, and caried away with desire of reuenge. He being far from both these, hath respect to the ensample and correction of others. He also knoweth best to whom the same may do good, & when. The moments of times are of great weight, and the most wholesom medicine is often turned to the destruction of the diseased, not being applyed in due season. God cut off Caligula in the prime of his tyrannie. He suffered Nero to run on farther; And Tiberius farthest of all. And doubt thou not but it was for the good of those that then murmured at it. Our euill and disordered manners haue neede of a continuall scourge; but we woulde haue it taken from vs at the firste, and caste into the fier. This is one cause of forbearance, which respecteth vs.

An other there is in respecte of God vnto whome it seemeth peculiar. *To proceed slowly in reuenge of himselfe, and to quit that slacknesse with the grienousnes of the punishment.* Well spake Sinesius, *The diuine nature proceedeth leisurely and orderly.* And the old Sages went not much awry, who in this respect feined God to haue woollen feet. So that albeit thou be a hasty man and geuen to reuenge, thou oughtest not to be griued at this forbearance which is such a delay of the punishment, as it is withal an encrease of the same. Tell me, in beholding a tragedy, will it stomacke thee to see Atreus or Thiestes in the firste or second acte walking in state and maiestye vpon the scene? To see them raigne, threate and commaund? I thinke not, knowing their prosperitie to be of small continuance; And when thou shalt see them shamefullie come to confusion in the laste Acte. Nowe then in

Why God omitteth or forbeareth to punish.

First that he may send his punishments in due time.

Secondly it proceedeth fro an instincte of his nature. (If I may so speake.)

Because the most mild god is slow to punish.

For he saith, he will not be angry with a man, nor will he be angry with a man, nor will he be angry with a man.



The life of the wicked is compared to a tragic.

this Tragedy of the World, why art not thou so favourable towards God, as to a poore Poet? This wicked man prospereth. That Tyrant liueth. Let be awhile. Remember it is but the first Act, and consider aforehande in thy mind, that sobs and sorrowes will ensue vppon their solace. This Scene will anon swimme in blood, then these purple and golden garments shalbe rowled therein. For that Poet of ours is singular cunning in his art, and will not lightly transgresse the lawes of his Tragedie. In musicke, doo we not allowe sometimes disagreeing foundes, knowing that they will all close in consent? But the parties iniured doo not alwaies see the punishment. What maruell is that? The tragedy commonly is tedious, and they are not able to sit so long in the theater: yet others doo see it, and are worthily stricken with feare when they perceiue that some are reprimed before this seuer throne of iustice, but not pardoned: And that the day of execution is prolonged, not wholly taken away. Wherefore (*Lipsius*) holde this for certaine, That vngodly men are forborne awhile, but neuer forgiuen: And that no man hath a sinne in his hart, but the same man carieth (*a*) Nemesis on his backe. For that Furie followeth them alwaies, and as I may say with Euripides, *Going silently and with a soft foot, she will in due time violently pluck the wicked from off the earth.*

(a) The Penitentes goddesse that punisheth heynous maly factors.

### CHAPT. XIII.

*Then is it shewed that there be sundry kinds of punishments: And some of them hidden or inward, alwaies accompanying the wicked facts themselves, which vngodly men shall neuer escape. And they bee more greuous than any outward.*

There be three sorts of punishments that God vseth.

**Y**Et to make thee conceiue these things the better, and that I may lead thee at length into the chiefe bulwarke of this argument; Thou must vnderstand that



y there be 3 sundry sorts of Gods punishments, Internal,  
 After this life, External. The first I call those that VEX  
 THE MIND OR SOVLE YET COVPLED TO THE 1. Internall.  
 BODIE; As sorrow, repentance, feare, and a thousande  
 gnawinges of conscience. The second sort are such as  
 TOVCH THE SAME SOVLE BEING FREE AND  
 LOOSED FROM THE BODIE: as bee those punish- 2. After this  
life.  
 ments which most of the olde heathen writers did (not  
 without reason) coniecture were reserved for vngodlie  
 men after this life: The third WHICH TOVCH THE  
 BODY, OR ARE ABOUT THE SAME: as pouertie 3. Eternall.  
 banishment, griefes, diseases, death. And it commeth to  
 passe oftentimes that all these, by the iust iudgement of  
 God, doo fal vpon the wicked: But certainly the twoe  
 former kinds doo alwaies followe them. And to speake  
 of INTERNALL punishments, what man was there at  
 any time so giuen ouer to worke wickednesse, but that he  
 felt in his minde sharpe scourges, and (as it were) heavy  
 strokes eyther in committing mischieuous deeds, or else  
 after the facts committed? For Plato said trulie, *That pun-  
 ishment is the companion of iniustice.* Or as Hesiodus  
 more plainly and forceably expresth the matter, *It is  
 coeternal and coequall with it.* The punishment of wicked  
 nesse is kin to euery wicked act, yea bred in it; neyther  
 is any thing free and out of care in this life, but innocen-  
 cie. As malefactors among the Romanes that were con-  
 demned to bee crucified, dyd beare their crosse, which  
 soone after shoulde beare them: So hath God laid this  
 crosse of conscience vpon all vngodly men, whereby  
 they may suffer paines afore they come to execution.  
 Dooest thou thinke there is none other punishment but  
 that which is obiected to our eies? Or that which is in-  
 flicted vpon the bodie? It is farre otherwise. All such  
 are externall, and doo lightly for a short time only touch  
 vs; But those that bee inwarde doo torment vs. As wee  
 iudge them to bee more sicke which pine awaie with a

Some of these  
are alwaies in-  
flicted vpon  
the wicked.

Especially the  
internal, which  
are corrasives  
to the mynd,

And the most  
griuous paines  
of all other.

cōsumption, then they y haue an inflammation or feuer, and yet these last haue the greatest appearance : Euen so be those wicked men in worste case, which are ledde to euerlasting death with a lingring pace. Caligula ruling with great Tyrannie, would be so stricken on a sudden as though he shoulde die: So fareth it with those wicked-linges when that butcher (their owne minde) pricketh and beateth continuallie with soft strokes.

Lying hid often tymes vnder a cherefull and merrie countenaunce

Let not the gorgeous outward apparance beguile thee, nor the puissant pompe wherewith they are enuironed, or their abundance of wealth. For they are not the happier nor in any better case thereby, no more then a sicke man whose ague or goute lyeth vppon a statelie featherbedde. When thou seest a poore beggerly fellowe playing a kinges part on a stage, adorned with golden robes, thou enuyest him not, knowing that vnder the same gorgeous attire are scabs, filthe, and vncleanesse: haue thou the very same opinion of all these great proud Tyrantes, *Whose mindes if they might be opened (saith Tacitus) wee should beholde rentinges and strokes: Sith that euen as the bodie with stripes, so is the mind torne in peeces with crueltie, lust, and euil cogitations.* I knowe they laugh sometimes, but it is onely from the teeth outwarde. They reioice, but with no true ioy. No more certainly then they which being in a dungeon condemned to die, doo seeke to beguile themselves with playing at dice or tables, and yet cannot. For the deepe imprinted terrour of punishment at hande remaineth, and the image of grieously death neuer departeth from before their eies. I pray thee draw backe this curtaine of externall thinges, and behold that (a) Scicilian tyrant,

In wicked men there is disagreement betwixt y tongue & thoughtes.

(a) *Dionysius.*

*ouer whose wicked head a naked sword  
Doth alwaies hang.*

(b) *The words of Tiberius in an epistle to the seuer.*

Lyften to that Romane emperour lamentably crying out (b) *All the Gods and Goddeses send me a worse destruction, then that I seele a dailie dying in me.* Heare another

ther

ther of them sighing from the heart, & saying: *(a) What?*  
*Am I the onely man that haue neither friende nor foe?* *(a) The words*  
 These are the true tormentes of the minde. *(Lipsius)* *Nero at his*  
 These be griping griefes indeed, alwaies to bee vexed, *death.*  
 sorrowfull, terrified. Beware thou compare not any tor-  
 tures, rakes, or iron Instrumentes vnto these.

## CHAPT. XV.

*That paines after this life are prepared for euill dooers. And  
 most commonly also externall punishments. Confirmed  
 by some notable examples.*

**I**Oyne moreouer heereto those euerlasting paines af-  
 ter this life, which it sufficeth mee onely to point at  
 out of the middes of diuinitie, without further vnsol-  
 ding of them. Adde also externall punishmentes,  
 which if they bee wanting, yet in asmuch as the former  
 neuer are omitted, who can rightlie blame the iustice of  
 God? But I say that those first are not lacking: And ne-  
 uer, or surely very seldome dooth it happen, but that no-  
 torious euill personnes and such as oppresse others, doo  
 suffer open and publicke paines. Some of them sooner,  
 some later; Some in themselues, and some in their po-  
 steritie: Thou markest and murmurest that the Scicili-  
 an Tyrant Dyonisius dooth for many yeares together  
 commit adulteries, rapines, murders, without controul-  
 ment. Haue patience a little while, thou shalt see him  
 shortly infamous, a banished man, beggerly, and (a mat-  
 ter scarce credible) thrust down from the scepter, to y<sup>e</sup> ser-  
 ruler. The same king of a great Iland, shal set vp a schoole  
 at Corinth, himself being indeed a very scoffe to fortune.  
 On the other side, Dooth it grieue thee y<sup>e</sup> Pompey should  
 be ouerthrowne in Pharsalia, and his army almost confi-  
 sting of Senatours? That the Tyrant shoulde take his  
 pleasure

Paines after  
 this life of  
 which diuines  
 do properly  
 intreate.

Externall pu-  
 nishmentes  
 most common-  
 ly are sente  
 before those o-  
 ther.

Either in the  
 persons offen-  
 ding, or in  
 their posterity.

The strange  
 punishment  
 that God sente  
 vpon Dyonisius.



pleasure and pastime awhile in the blood of citizens? I blame thee not much, considering that Cato himselfe here lost the helme of sound Iudgment, & from his heart vttered this doubtful voice, *Diuine matters are full of obscurity*. Notwithstanding thou Lipsius, thou Cato, cast your eyes a little aside, you shall see one thing that will bringe you into good liking with God againe. Behold that Cesar, statly, A conquerour, in his own and some other folks opinion, a very god; Slaine in, and of the Senate. And that not with one simple death, but wounded with three and twenty seuerall thrusts, and rousing in his own blood like a beast. And (what more could you wish?) this was donne euen in the courte of Pompei, the Image of Pompei standing there on high, celebrating a greate sacrifice to the ghost of that (a) Greate one. Euen so Brutus loosing his life in the Phillipian fieldes for his cuntry, and with his cuntry, moueth me to compassion: But I am recomforted when I see not long after those conquering armies (as it were) before his tombe falling together by the eares betweene themselues; And Maister Antonius one of the Chiefetaines overcome both by sea and land, among three seely women hardly finding death with that womanish hand. Where arte thou now that of late wast Lord of all the east? Leader of the Romaine Armies? Persecuter of Pompei and the common-wealth? Lo thou hangest in a rope by thy bloody hands! Lo thou creepst into thy graue halfe aliue! Loe dying thou canst not bee withdrawne from her which was thy death! Marke whether Brutus vttered in vaine those last words at his death. *O Iupiter, let not the author of this euill beguile thee*. No more did he deceaue or escape him. No more did that other Captain, who not obscurely suffered in himselfe the punishment of his youthfull misdeedes; But yet more apparantly in all his progenie. Let him be happy and mighty Caesar, and truly (b) *Augustus*: But with all let him haue a daughter Iulia, and a neece; Also some of his nephewes

Likewise on  
Julius Cesar.

(a) Pompey,  
was surnamed  
The GREAT.

Also vpon M.  
Antonius.

And lastly vpon  
Octavianus  
Augustus, Antonies  
companion.

(b) This is in  
english, full of  
maiestie and re-  
uerence.

phewes let him lose by false accusations. Others let him banish out of his fauour: And with loathsomines of these let him wish to die with fower daies hunger, and not be able. Finally, let him liue with his *Liuiā*. vnhoneſtly married, vnhoneſtly kepte: And vpon whom he doted with vnlawfull loue, (a) let him die a shamefull death by her meanes. In conclusion (ſaith *Plinie*) *He being made a god and gaining heauen (but I wot not whether he deſerued it) let him die, and let the ſonne of his (b) enemie be his heire.* Theſe and ſuch like things (*Lipſius*) are to be thought vpon whenſoeuer we begin to breake forth into any complaints of vnrighteousnes in god. And we muſt alwaies caſt our mindes to the conſideration of two things, the ſlownes, and the diuerſitie of puniſhments. Is not ſuch a man puniſhed? Hold thee contented a little, he ſhall feele it ere long: If not in his bodie, yet assuredly in mind. If not whiles he liueth, yet doubtles when he is dead.

(a) It is thought he was poiſoned by her.

Of all theſe matters ſee at large in his liſe.

(b) *Tiberius*, who was the ſon of *Iunia* by her firſt husband.

The concluſion of this place touching complaining againſt euill men.

*Though vengeance come behind and her foote ſore,  
She ouer-takes the offender that goeth before.*

*Seneca.*

For that ſame heauenlie eye watcheth ſtill, and when thou thinkeſt it ſleepeth ſoundlie, it doth but winke a little. Onely ſee that thou beare thy ſelfe vprightly towards him; And do not vainely accuſe thy iudge, by whom thy ſelfe muſt eſtſoones be iudged.

## CHAPT. XVI.

*An anſwere to the other obiection touching guiltles men. It is proued that all haue deſerued puniſhment, for that all are offenders. And who they be that doe offend more or leſſe, can hardly or by no meanes be diſcerned by men. It is God onely that ſeeth thoroughly into faults, and therefore doth puniſh moſt iuſtly.*

The second  
cauill touch-  
ing guiltles  
persons: which  
is in deed a  
meere cauill  
or flander,  
because ther  
be none guilt-  
les or inno-  
cent.

**B**Vt thou saist that guiltlesse and innocent people are punished. For this is thy second complaint, Or rather I may tearme it a slanderous accusation. Vnaduised yong man! So speakest thou? In what countrey may we find such countrey-men as are without fault? It were great boldnesse, yea rashnesse to affirme that of any one man. And dost thou make no scruple to quit whole peoples and nations of offence? Thou doost most foolishly. I know we haue all sinned and daily doe; we are borne in vncleannesse and in it we liue. In somuch that the storehouse of heauen (as I may say with the Satiricke) woulde be without thunder-bolts, if they were hurled continually vpon all that do offend. For though fishes be ingendred and nourished in the salt sea and themselves tast not of any saltnes: yet may we not thinke it to bee so with vs men, that we being born in this contagion of the world, should our selues be without corruption. Then if all bee offenders, where are these harmles innocent people? For punishment is alwaies most iustly y<sup>e</sup> companiō of offence

Neither may  
we pretend  
inequalitie of  
the fault and  
punishment.

But thou wilt say, I mislike the inequality, in that some folke hauing trespassed but a little are greuouslie corrected: And others notoriously naught, are suffred to flourish and haue dominion. I see what the matter is. Belike thou wilt take the ballance of iustice out of Gods hand, & wilt poise it after thine owne fantasie and pleasure. To what else tendeth this thy valuation of greater or smaller offences, which thou assumest vnto thee before God? But heere (*Lipsius*) I would haue thee consider two things: First that men cannot neither ought to take vpon them the iudging of others faults. For how can it be that thou (sillie man) shouldst weigh faults vprightly, which doost not marke them throughly? Canst thou giue sentence iustly of that which thou art not able to examine diligētlie? Thou wilt easily graunt that it is the minde or soule which sinneth, by meanes of the body and the instruments

Wherin men  
are no vpright  
iudges.



ments of the senses, but yet so, that the whole waighte and burthen of sinne resteth vpon it. This is so true, that if thou grant a man hath committed ought against his will, then he hath not therein sinned. If it be so, how art thou able to behold the offence, which seest not so much as the harbour and seate thereof? And surely thou arte so farre from seeing an other mans mind, that thou perceauest not thine owne. Therefore this is greate folly or temerity in arrogating to thy selfe the censuring and iudgement of that thing which is not seene, nor to bee seene; Neither knowne nor able to bee comprehended by any mans knowledge.

In that they see not the mind, which is the seat of sin,

Secondly, admitte there be such inequallity as thou speakest off: Yet is there no harme nor wronge don herein. No harme, in y<sup>e</sup> it is for their good which are presently punished euen for their least faults. Therin God loueth vs. And we ought greatly to misdoubte longe forbearance, which euer bringeth with it more grieuous paines. Againe neither is there any wrong donne thereby, because (as I saide) wee haue all of vs deserued punishment, and there is not in the best any such purity, but that som spots doe staine them, which must be washed away with this salt water of aduersities. Wherefore (young man) lette passe this most intricate disputation of the estimating of faults and offences, thou being an earthly and very simple iudge, Referre it to God, who discerneth more vprightly and soundly that matter from his high throne of iustice. He alone it is that esteemeth indifferently of defects. He, which without al fraude or dawbing of dissimulation beholdeth vertue and vice in their proper hue. Who can deceaue him which searcheth all outward and inward thinges alike? which seeth both body and mind? The tongue and the very veynes of the hearte? Finally all things whether open or secret? who seeth not onely y<sup>e</sup> deeds don, but euen the causes & proceedinges of them as cleere as the noon light. Thales, being once demanded

Neither yett the cause of outward punishment, which often times is for good.

Therefore we must leaue this iudgment to God alone.

Who is a searcher of the hart: And whom no countering or dissimulation can beguile.

*whether any one could beguile God, that did commit wickednesse? No, nor if he do but imagine it onely; So said he truly. But now it is otherwise with vs being here in darknes, who not onely doo not see secret finnes, but also such as are doone vnder the coate and skirts (as they say) no nor scarce those that be manifest and committed in the daie light. For wee doo not discerne the fault it selfe and the whole force thereof, but onely some externall signes of the same, when it is doone and hath turned the backe to be gone againe. We do oftentimes thinke them the best men, whom God knoweth to bee the worst: And those we reiect, whome he dooth elect. Wherefore (if thou haue witedome) shut thine eies, and stoppe thy mouth from hauing any thing to doo touching the worthinesse or vnworthinesse of men. Such hidden causes are hardly knowne for certaine.*

### CHAPT. XVII.

*An answer to the third obiection touching punishmentes translated or put off from one person to another. It is shewed by examples that the same is vsually doon among men. What is the cause wherefore God useth such translating of punishmentes from one to another. Also certeine other matters full of subtile curiositie.*

**B**Vt now the third cloud brought in to ouer shadowe Gods iustice, must be blowne away. For some saye that God dooth not deale vprightly in shifting ouer punishmentes from one to another: Neyther is it wel that the posteritie should suffer paines for the faultes of their predecessors. What? Is that such a rare or straunge matter? Nay rather I maruel why these men should maruell at that, seeing they doo euen the same heere in this world. Tell me in good sooth, doo not the rewards that Princes bestow vpon the Auncestors for their vertues;

remaine

The third ca-  
uil or slander  
of gods iustice,  
touching Sub-  
stitutes in  
punishmentes.

Which is a  
matter neither  
strange nor  
vnusual among  
men

remaine and redound also to their posteritie? Surely they do. And I thinke the like of reuenge and punishment for their euill deseruings. Beholde in cases of treason against the state or person of a prince, some are apparantly in the faulte, and others do communicate with them in the punishment. Which thing is so farre intended by mans seuerity, as it is prouided by lawes that the innocent children, should be punished with perpetuall pouerty; *so as death may seeme a solace to them, and life a scourge*. Your mindes are altogether malicious. You will permit that to some kinge or pettie-potentate, which you will not vnto God: who notwithstanding if ye consider it well, hath far greater reason of this seuerity. For we haue transgressed and rebelled against this mighty king euery one of vs; And by many descents is that first blemish or staine diried to the vnhappy children; Such a cheining and linking together of offences there is before God. Neither was it my father, or thine that first began to sinne, but the father of all fathers. What marueill is it then if he punish in the posteritie those faultes which be not properlie diuers, but by certen communication of feede made ioynt, and neuer being discontinued.

But to let passe these high misteries, and to deal with thee by a more familiar kind of reasoning; know this, that God ioyneth together those thinges which we through frailty or ignorance doe seperate and put a sunder: And that hee beholdeth families, townes kingdomes, not as things confuse or distinguished, but as one body and intire nature. The familie of the Scipioes or Cæsars, is but one whole thing to him. The cittie of Rome or Athens during all their time of their continuance, one. So likewise the Romaine emperie. And there is good reason it should be so. For there is a certen bonde of lawes, and communion of rights that knitteth together these greates bodies, which causeth a participation of rewards and punishments to bee betwixt those that haue liued in diuers

For that daily both priuiledges and punishments do redound to the posteritie.

That god doth most iustly in transposing of punishmentes. Because we are naturally linked with our fathers in their offences.

Finally because God vnitheth together and bringeth vnder one viewe those thinges and faultes which we do seperate

That societies or corporations before god are but one intire thing.



ages. Therefore, were the Scipioes good men in times past? Their posteritye shall speede the better for it before the heavenly iudge. Were they euill? Let their posterity fare the worse. Haue the Flemmings not many yeres past bene lasciuious, couetous, godlesse? let vs smart for it. Because in al external punishments God doth not onely beholde the time present, but also hath respect to time past; And so by pondering of both these together, hee poyseth euenly the ballaunce of his iustice. I saide in all

(a) **EXTERNALL PVNISHMENTS**, and I woulde haue thee marke it well. For the faults of one man are not layd vppon another, neither is there any confusion of offences: (God forbid that.) But these are onely paines and chasticements about vs, not in vs: And properly doe concern y body or goods, but not our mind which is internal. And what iniury at all is there herein? we will be heires to our Auncestors of comodities & rewards, if they deserue any: Why should we refuse their punishments & paines? *O Romaines, ye shall suffer punishments for the offences of your predecessors, unworthely.* So said the Romain poet, and he spake true, but only in that he added *unworthely*. For it is most deseruedly, because their fore-fathers had deserued it. But the poet saw the effect only, without lifting vp his consideration to the cause. Notwithstanding as one and the selfe same man may lawfully abide punishment in his old age, for som offence committed in his youth: Euen so in Empires and kingdomes doth God punish old sins, because that in respect of outward communication and societie, they are but one selfe thing before God. These distances of times doe not seperate vs in his sight, who hath all eternitie inclosed in his infinite capacity. Did those (b) Martiall woolues in oulde time ouerthrowe so many townes, and breake in peeces so many scepters scotfree? haue they sucked so much bloude by slaughter, and themselues neuer loste their bloud? Then I will surely confesse that God is no reuenger (c) *Whoe both heareth and seeth whatsoeuer we doe.* But the case standeth

other

That God  
ioyneth toge-  
ther tymes,  
be they neuer  
so far a sonder.  
(a) Which in  
deed is a wise  
chastisement, &  
in stead of a me-  
dicine. But in  
punishments  
commonly called  
spirituall, it is  
otherwise, which  
do extend only  
to the partie  
offending.

(b) *The Ro-  
maines.*

(c) *Plautus in  
Capitulis.*

otherwise. For it cannot be but they must at length euen in their posteritie receaue punishment, though slow, yet neuer too late.

Neither is ther with god this coniunction and vnitng oftimes onely, but of partes also. This is my meaning: That like as in man when the <sup>(a)</sup> hands, y<sup>e</sup> secreate partes, and bellie do transgresse, the whole bodie buieth the bargain deerly: So in a common multitude the sin of a fewe, is often required at the hands of all. Especially if the offenders be the worthiest members as 'Kinges, Princes, and Magistrates. Well said Hesiodus, and out of the bowells of wisdom.

*(a) By these, lechery and glottonie.*

*For one mans faulte the cittie suffreth paine,  
When one committeth sacriledge, or wrong:  
From heauen God makes tempestes downe to raine,  
Or pestilence, or famishment among.*

*Hesiodus*

So the whole Greekish Nauie perishd for one mans offence, euen the furious outrage of *Ajax Oileus*. Likewise in Iewry seuentie thousand men were iustly consumed with one plague, for the vnlawful <sup>(b)</sup> lust of the king. Somtimes it falleth out contrarilie, that whereas all haue sinned, God chooseth out one or a fewe to be (as it were) a sacrifice for the common crime. Wherein although he decline a little from the <sup>(c)</sup> straight leuell of equallitie, yet of this inequallitie a newe kind of iustice ariseth: And the same which in a fewe seemeth to be rigour, is a certaine merciful righteousnes towards many. Doth not y<sup>e</sup> schoole maisters ferruler correcte one among a multitud of loytring schollers. Doth not a generall in the warres punish his mutinous Armie by drawinge the tenthe man? And both these do it vpon good aduise, for that this punishment inflicted vpon a fewe, doth terrifie and amend all. I see Phisitians many times open a veine in the foote or Arme, when the whole bodie is distempered. What know I whether it be so in this case? For these matters be misteries. (*Lipsius*) They be very deepe misteries.

*(b) When Dauid ambitiously nom bred the people.*  
2 Sam. 24.

*(c) Tacitus saith well: Enery notable example hath some smacke of iniustice wish it, which (seeing it touche th some particuler person onely) is sufficiently recompensed with the publick profite.*

If

We must with-  
draw our cogi-  
tations from  
those high  
mysteryes.

Which we  
neither do nor  
can any waies  
comprehend.

If wee bee wise let vs not come too nigh this sacred fire whose sparkes and small flakes we men perchance may see, but not the thing it selfe. Euen as they which fix their eyes too seriously vpon the sun, do lose them: so wee extinguish all the light of our mind, by beholding earnestly this light. My opinion therefore is, that wee ought to abstaine from this curious question so full of danger, And be resolu'd of this, That mortall men cannot rightfully iudge of offences, nor ought not to attempt it. God hath an other manner of ballaunce, and an other tribunall seat of iustice. And howsoeuer those secret iudgements of his be executed, we must not accuse but suffer and reuerence them. This one sentence I would haue thee to bee thoroughly perswaded off, wherewith I will shut vp this matter, and stop the mouthes of all curious busibodies, *The moste parte of Gods iudgements are secreete, but none of them vnrighteous.*

### CAPT. XVIII.

*A Passage to the last place, which is of examples. It is shew-  
ed to be a matter profitable oftentimes to mix some things  
of sweete tast with sharper medicines.*

A returning  
to the talke of  
CONSTAN-  
CLE.

**T**Hus much (*Lipsius*) I had to say in defence of Gods iustice against vniust accusers; which I confesse was not altogether pertinent to my purpose, and yet not much besides it: Because doubtlesse wee shall the more willingly and indifferently beare these greate publike miseries, when we are fully perswaded they bee iustly inflicted vpon vs. And heere surceassing our communication awhile, *Langius* sodenly brake out into these wordes; it is well, I haue taken breath a little: And being now passed beyonde all the dangerous rockes of difficulte questions, it seemeth I may with full sailes strike into the hauen. I behold here at hand my fourth and last troupe, which



which I intende willingly to bringe into the field. And as martiners being in a tempest, when they see the two (a) twinnes appeare together, do receaue great hope & comforte: So fareth it with me, vnto whome after many sturdy stormes, this double legion hath shewed it self. Let me lawfully terme it so, after the auncient manner, because it is forked or twofold, And by it I muste manfully proue two seuerall things, that these euills which nowe we suffer are neither grieuous, nor new and vnaccustomed. In certaine of which fewe matters that are behind vnhandled, I pray the (*Lipsius*) shew thy selfe willing and attentiu vnto me. Neuer more willing (*Langius*) then now. For it pleaseth me very well that wee haue passed through the pikes: And I long earnestly for some pleasant and familiar medicines, after these sharpe and bitter pilles. And so it appeareth by the title that the disputation ensuing wilbe. You say true, quoth *Langius*. And euen as the chirurgians after they haue seared and cut as much as liketh them, do not forthwith dismisse their patient, but apply some gentle medicines and comfortable salues to aswage the pain: So I hauing sufficiently seared and purged thee with the rasors and fire of wisdom, will now cherish thee againe with some sweeter communication, & wil touch thee with a milder hand, as the saying is. I wil descend from that craggie hill of philosophy: leading thee awhile into the pleasant fieldes (b) philology; And that, not so much for thy recreation, as for thy health. It is sayd that Demochares a phisitian hauing for his patient *Considia* a noble woman which refused all kind of sharpe medicines, ministred vnto her the milke of goates, which he caused to feed altogether vpon maltick: So it is my purpose to impart now vnto thee some historicall and delectable matters, but yet sauced with a secrete liquor of wisdom. What matter is it which way wee attempt the curing of a sicke bodie, so wee restore him to perfect health?

The fourth argument for it: which is also twofold, (a) *Castor and Pollux*. who wher they appeare both in a storme, do beseechen a calme nigh ashand.

(b) Which is heer taken for eloquence or sweete communication. It signifieth properly loue of talke, as philosophie doth loue of wisdom.

## CAPT. XIX.

*That publike euills are not so grieuous as they seeme to bee; which firste is briefely proued by reason. For mooste commonly wee feare the circumstances and adiuncts of thinges, more then the thinges themselues.*

The first part  
of this argu-  
ment touching  
the lightnes  
of calamities.

If we examine  
them with rea-  
son.

For pouertie is  
no hard mater  
to beare.

Neither is  
bannishment  
grieuous.

**N**OW march forwards mine own good legion. And first of all that troupe which arte assigned to the vowe-ward, prouing that these euills are not grieuous, which we will conuince by a twofold argument, of reason and comparison. **OF REASON**, because if thou haue due respecte there vnto, truly all these things which do betide vs and hang ouer our heads, are neither grieuous nor greate, but do onely seeme so to be. It is **OPINION** which doth augment & amplify them, and listeth them vp as it were vppon a stage to bee scene. But if thou be wise, scatter abroad that thicke miste, and behold the thinges in the cleere light. For example sake; Thou in this time of publike calamities fearest pouerty, banishment, and death. If thou looke vpon these things with indifferent & sound eies: alas what trifles are they? if thou poise them according to their weight, how light be they? This war, or else the tirannie of gouernors through excessiue tributes will impoucrish thee. What then? Thou shalt be a poore man. Did not nature so mak thee, and so shall take thee hence? But if the odious and infamous name of tiranny offend thee, change thy habitation, so shalt thou free thy selfe. Fortune (if thou marke it) hath holpen thee, and prouided thee a place of more security. No man shall pill and poll thee any more. Thus y thing which thou didst accompt as dammage, shal be a remedy vnto thee. But I shalbe a bannished man. Nay rather a stranger, if thou wilt. If thou alter thy affection, thou chaungest thy cuntry: A wise man in whatsoeuer place

place he be, is as a pilgrime; And a foole wherefoeuer he goeth, is an exile.

But thou wilt say, death is dayly imminent to me by meanes of a tyrant. As though it were not so euery daye by nature. Yea but it is a shamefull matter to die by execution or strangling. O foole, neither that nor any other kinde of death is infamous, except thy life bee such. Recount vnto me y<sup>e</sup> best & worthiest personnes that haue bene since the beginning of the world: They ended their liues by violence. This examination (*Lipsius*) whereof I do giue thee a tast only, must be vsed in all those things which doe seeme terrible, and wee must beholde them naked without any vestment or vizard of opinions. But wee poore wretches doe turne our selues to these vaine and external matters, not fearing the thinges themselves but the circumstances and adiuncts of them. Beholde if thou saile on the sea, and it beginne to swell mightely, thy courage quaieth, and thou tremblest with feare, As though if the shippe were cast away, thou shouldest swallow vp the whole sea, whereas one quart or two thereof will suffice to drowne thee. If an earth-quake bee sodenly rayfed, what crying out and quaking is there? Thou imaginest that the whole towne, or at leaste a hovse will fall vppon thee: And dooest not consider that the dropping downe of one little stone is enough to knocke out thy braines. Euen so is it in these greate common calamities, in the which the noise and vaine imagination of thinges doth terrifie vs. See, this troupe of soldiors! See, these shining swordes! why? what can these soldiors, or these swordes doe? They will kill me. What is killing? A bare and meere death onely. And that the name may not terrifie thee, it is but a departing of the soule from the body (*a*). All which bandes of soldiors, all which threatning swordes shall doe but that which one feuer, one smal kernell of a grape, or one litle worme may bring to passe.

Nor death is  
felle.

But we do aug-  
ment them by  
our imaginati-  
ons.

(a) More of  
this matter we  
hane spoken  
nowe booke in-  
titled THRA-  
SE, or OF  
CONTEMPT  
OF DEATH.



But the other is more painful. Nay it is farre more easy, for an ague which thou seemest rather to choose, kepeth a man in paines commonly a whole yeare together; But heere the matter is ended with one blowe in a moment. Therefore it was well spoken of Socrates, who vsed to call all these things no otherwise but GOBLINS or PAINTED VISARDS, which if thou put on, children runne from thee affrighted, but so soone as thou puttest off the same and shewest thine owne face, they will come about thee againe and embrace thee in their armes. Euen so standeth the case in these matters that seeme so terrible, which if thou behold without vaile or visard, thou wilt confesse that all thy feare was but childish. As hailstones though they beat vppon houses with a great noise, yet themselues doo leape away and are dissolved: So these things if they happen to light vppon a constant setled mind, doo not cast downe it, but vanish and come to naught themselues.

A briebe and  
comfortable  
sayng of Socra-  
tes.

## CHAPT. XX.

*Now we come to comparison. And first of all the miserie of the Low-countries and of this our age, is exaggerated. That opinion is generallie confuted. And it is declared how that the natural disposition of men is prone to augment their owne griefes.*

A cutting off  
of the former  
talke, which  
els would  
haue bene too  
copious and  
confuse

(a) One of the  
7. wise men of  
Ireca.

**T**His earnest & graue cōmunication of *Langius* was nothing answerable to my hope or expectation: Wherefore interrupting him, whither now? (quoth I.) Was this your promise to me? I expected the sweet wine and hony-combes of histories: But you serue me with such sower sauce, as there is none more sharpe among all the store of philosophy. What? Doo you thinke that you haue to doo with some (a) Thales? No, no: Now you haue *Lipsius* in hand, who as he is a man, and

and of the Common sort of men: So he desireth remedies somewhat more spiced with humanitie, then these be. Then said *Langius* with a milde voice and countenance, I confesse indeed I am worthy of blame. For in following the bright beames of reason, I see my selfe to haue strayed out of the high waie and declined vnwares into the path of wisdom againe. But now I will amend the matter, and returne to holde on my course in a more familiar knowne trade-way. Dooth the sharpenesse of the wine y<sup>e</sup> I broached, dislike thee? I will sweeten it with the honie of examples. Now therefore I come to COMPARISONS, and wil prooue evidently that there is nothing grienous or great in all these euils which doo nowe abound euery where, if we compare them with those of olde time. For in times past the same haue byn far more haynous and lamentable than now. Hereat I once again more egerly than before replied: What? Say you so indeed? (a) *And think you to bring me into that believe?* No (*Langius*) not so long as there is any sense in my head. For what age past, if you examin the matter rightly, hath at any time beene so miserable as this ours, Or euer shalbe? What countrey, what region hath suffred, *So manie things greenous to be spoken off, and rigorous to be endured,* As we Flemmings do at this day? We are shaken to and fro with wars not onely forrein, but ciuill: And not such onely, but intestine dissentions euen within our own bowels. For there be not onelic parties among vs, but new parties of those same parties. (Alasse my deere countrey what Safety can saue thee?) Adde hereto pestilence, and famine, tributes, rapines, slaughters: Also the vtermost extremitie of tyranny; And oppressions not of bodies onely, but also of the minds. And what is there in other partes of Europe? war, or feare of war: And if any peace be, it is ioyned with shamful seruitude vnder petty-lords, and no better at all then any kind of warre. Whithersoer we cast our eies or cogitations, al things hang in sus-

The lightnes-  
of these cala-  
mities is pro-  
ued by compa-  
rison.

(a) *Aristophanes.*

The fatall  
miseries of  
the lowe-coun-  
tries.

And of all  
Europe: which  
certainly is  
euen readie to  
decaye.

spence and suspicion. And (as it were in an olde ruinous house) there be many tokens of falling downe. In fine (*Langius*) like as all riuers runne into the Sea: So it seemeth that al misfortunes are fallen vpon this present age. I speake onely of those euils which are in action, and now presently tossing vs. What need I make mention of such as hang ouer our heads? To which I may truely applie that saying of Euripides:

*I see so great a sea of euils nigh at hand,*

*So that it seemes a matter hard, safely to swim to land.*

*Langius* turning himselfe towards me angerly, and as it were with intent to rebuke me; What? Dooft thou yet again cast thy selfe down by these querulous complaintes? I thought thou hadst stood fast like a man, and I see thou fallest: That thy wounds had byn quite closed vp, but I perceiue thou dost open them again. Howbeit thou must be endued with contentation of mind, if thou wilt bee in perfect health.

Querulous  
cōplaints do  
stirre vp the  
recordation of  
euils that were  
forgotten.

Thou sayest, this age is the vnhappyest that euer was. This hath bin an old lay long agon vsed. I know thy grād father said so, and likewise thy father. I know also that thy children and childrens children wil sing the same note. It is a thing naturally giuen vnto men to cast their eies narrowly vpon al things that be grieuous, but to wink at such as be pleasant. As flies & such like vile creatures do neuer rest long vpon smooth & fine polished places, but doo sticke fast to rough and filthie corners: So the murmuring mind dooth lightly passe ouer the consideration of all good fortune, but neuer forgetteth the aduerse or euil. It handleth and pryeth into that, yea and oftentimes augmenteth it with great witte. Like as Louers doo alwaies behold somewhat in their mistresse whereby they thinke her to excell all others: Euen so doo menne that mourne, in theyr myseries. Yea moreouer wee imagine thinges that bee false, and be vvaile not onely things present, but also such as bee to come. And vvhath gaine

Because we are  
all prone to  
augment our  
owne sorrowes



we by this fore-reaching wit of ours? Surely nothing els, but that as some espying a farre off the dust rayfed by an armie, doo therevpon forsake their tentes for feare: So the vaine shadow of future danger casteth vs downe into the pitte of desparation.

Yea and to  
seine more  
then is true.

## CHAPT. XXI.

*The same is more properly and precisely confuted by comparison with the euils of olde time. First of the wars and maruellous desolation of the Iewes.*

**B**Vt thou (*Lipsius*) let passe these vulgar matters, and followe me now to that Comparison which thou so much desirest. Thereby it shall most plainly appeare vnto thee, that the myserable desolations of old time were not onely in all respects equall to these of our age; but did farre surpasse them; And that wee which liue in these daies haue cause to reioice rather then to grudge. Thou sayest wee are tossed with Warres. What then? were not they of olde time likewise? Yes (*Lipsius*) they had their beginning with the World, and shall neuer bee at an end so long as the world lasteth. But perhaps theirs were not so great, nor so greeuous as ours be. Nay but it is so farre otherwise, that all ours are meere iestings and toyes, (I speake in good earnest) if they bee compared with the auncient ages. I shal hardly find an entrance in, or a way out, if once I throw my selfe into this deepe sea of Examples. Notwithstanding shall we wander a little through al parts of the Worlde? Let vs goe. Vwee will begin with Iudea, that is with the holie Nation and people. I let passe those things which they suffred in Egypt & immediatly after their departure thence, for they are recorded and may easily be seene in holy Scripture. I will come to the last of al, euen such as are annexed to theyr  
finall

An entrance  
into the com-  
parison.

And that  
thorough cue-  
ry particular  
sort of calami-  
ties.

First of warre.

The innume-  
rable slaugh-  
ters of the  
Iewes.

(a) Collected  
and taken out of  
Iosephus.

finall destruction; which it is expediente that I (a) propound particularly as it were in manner of a table. They suffered therefore in ciuill and forreine warres within the space of seuen yeares, these thinges ensuing. First there were slaine at Ierusalem by the commaundement of Florus. 630

At Cesarea by the inhabitants there, for hatred of the nation and their (b) religion, at once. 20000.

At Scithopilis a towne of Siria. 13000.

At Ascalon in Palestina, of the inhabitants there. 2500.

Also at Ptolomais. 2000.

At Alexandria in Egigpt, vnder Tiberius Alexander then president. 50000.

At Damascus. 10000.

And al this happened as it were by sedicion and tumults:

Afterwards by lawfull and open warre with the Romains.

When Ioppa was taken by Cesius Florus, there were slaine of them. 8400.

Also in mount Cabulon. 2000.

In fight at Ascalon. 10000.

Againe by deceit. 8000.

At the taking of Aphaca. 15000.

In mount Garizin were slaine. 11600.

At Iotapa where Iosephus himselfe was, about. 30000.

Againe at the taking of Ioppe, were drowned. 4200.

In Tarichæis slaine. 6500

At Gamala killed, & y wilfully cast themselues headlong down from steepe places 9000. And not one man borne in that towne escaped, saue two women that were sisters.

Giscala being abandoned, there were slaine in the fighte 2000 And of women and children taken captiues. 3000.

Of the Gaderens were put to the sword. 13000.

Taken Captiues 2200. Besides an infinite number that Leapt into the riuier.

In the streetes of Idumæa were killed 10000.

At

(b) Note that  
onely religion at  
that time was  
preiudiciall to  
many.

At Gerasium.	1000.
At Macherus.	1700.
In the wood Iarde.	3000.
In Massada a little Castle were slaine wilfully by themselves.	960.
In Cirene slaine by Catulus the president.	3000.
But in the cittie of Hierusalem during all the time of the siege, there died and were killed.	1000000.
Taken captiues.	97000.
This whole summe (a) besides an innumerable company not spoken of ) amounteth to.	124000.
What saist thou <i>Lipsius</i> ? Dost thou cast downe thy eyes at this? Nay rather list them vp: And see whether thou dare again compare the warres that haue bene through out all Christendome these many yeares, with the miserable desolations of this one Iewish nation.	

(a) Which perished by famine exile, and mischances.

## CHAPT. XXII.

*Of the destructions of the Gertians and Romaines by warre. The great numbers of them that haue bene slain by certaine Captaines. Also the wasting of the new world. And the extreame miseries of captiuitie.*

**I** Rest not heer, but hold my way forwards into Greece. And if I should recount in order all the wars that those people haue had among themselves at home, or abroad with others it would be tedious to tell, and without any profit. Thus much onely I say, that this region hath continually bene so wasted and hacked with the sword of calamities as (b) Plutarke recordeth (which I neuer read without anger and admiration) that the whole nation in his time was not able to make three thousand souldiers. And yet (saith he) in times past euen in the Persian warre, one little towne by Athens called Megara, sufficed to raise that number. Alas how art thou decayed? O thou

The most cruel-  
lous desolations  
of Greece.

(b) In his booke  
of the defect of  
oracles.

Q.

garden



Also of Italy  
& the Ro-  
maine Empire.

Wonderfull  
great slaugh-  
ters by the  
warres of the  
Romaines.

(a) *Plinius li. 7.*

(b) *POMPEI-  
VS Magnus.*

(c) *Bellum Ca-  
launicum.*

Many towers  
vterly defaced  
by them.

(d) *in Plinarch.*

(e) *To the num-  
ber of 400. As  
Plinarch and  
Appian write.*

garden of the whole earth? The glory and bewtie of Na-  
tions. There is scarce now a Towne of any name in this  
distressed countrey of Belgica, that cannot match that  
number of warrelike people. Now shall we take a view of  
the Romans and of Italie? *Augustine* and *Orosius* haue  
already eased me of this busines in rehearsing. See their  
writings, and in them huge seas of euils. One Cartha-  
ginian war euen the second within the countrey of Ita-  
ly, Spaine, and Sicilie, and within the space of 17. yeares  
consumed foureene hundred thousand men and aboue.  
(For I haue searched the number very narrowly.) The  
ciuil war between *Cesar* and *Pompei* 300000. And the  
weapons of *Brutus*, *Cassius* and *Sextus Pompeius*, more  
then that. What speak I of wars managed vnder the con-  
duct of diuers persons? Behold. Only *C. Cesar* (O the  
plague and pestilence of mankind!) confesseth and that  
with boasting (a) *That hee slue in battels eleuen hundred  
ninety and two thousand men.* And yet the butchery of his  
ciuil wars runneth not in this reckoning. These slaugh-  
ters were committed vpon forreners in those few yeares  
wherein he ruled ouer Spaine and France. And yet not-  
withstanding in this respect he which was surnamed (b)  
THE GREAT, surpassed him: who caused it to be writ-  
ten in the temple of *Minerua*, *That he had overcome, put  
to flight, slaine, & vpon yeelding receiued to mercy, twenty  
hundred fower score & foure thousand men.* And to make vp  
the account, adde vnto these (if thou wilt) *Q. Fabius* who  
slue 110000. Frenchmen. *C. Marius* 200000. *Cimbri-  
ans*. And in a later age *Aetius*, who in a famous (c) battell  
killed an hundred, three score & two thousand *Hungariás*.

Neyther doo thou imagine that men onely were de-  
stroyed in these great wars: But likewise goodly townes  
were ruinated by them. *Cato* surnamed *Censorius*, (d)  
boasterh that he tooke more townes in (e) Spaine, then  
he had bin daies in that countrey. *Sempronius Gracchus*  
(if we giue credit to *Polybius*) vterly ouerthrew thirtie,

in the same region. I thinke that no age since the worlde began is able to match these, but only ours, yet in another world. A few Spaniardes sailing within these fourescore years into that maruellous wide new world, O good god, what exceeding great slaughters haue they wrought? what wonderful desolations? I speake not of the causes and equitie of the war, but onely of the euent. I behold that huge scope of ground, (a great matter to haue seen, I say not to haue subdued it) how it was walked through by twenty or thirty souldiors, And these naked (a) heardes of people cut downe by them, euen as corne with a sieth. Where art thou the most mighty Island of Cuba? Thou Haytie? You Islands Lucaiæ? which heretofore being replenished with siue or six hundred thousand men, in some of you scant fifteene are left aliue to preferue your feede. Shew thy selfe awhile thou Peru and Mexico. O maruellous and miserable spectacle! That mighty large countrey, and in truth another world, (b) appeareth desolate and wasted, no otherwise than if it had beene consumed with fire from heauen. My mind and toong both do faile me (*Lipsius*) in recounting these matters: And I see al our stirs in comparison of those, to bee nothing else but small fragments of straw, or as the Comicke Poet saith, *Little mites*.

And yet haue I not spoken at al of the condition of captiue slaues, then the which nothing was more miserable in the auncient wars. Free borne men, noble men, children, women, al whatsoeuer they were did the conquerour cary away. And who knoweth whether they were led into perpetual seruitude, or not? And truly the same such a miserable kind of slavery, as I haue good cause to reioice that not so much as the resemblance of any such hath heretofore byn, neither at this time is in Christendome. The Turkes indeed doo practise it: And there is no other thinge that maketh that Scythian souereigntie more odious and terrible vnto vs.

The spoiling, yea vnto desolation & wasting of the west Indies, or newe worlde.

(a) I may so english it fully, in respect of their savage brutishnes.

(d) Surely at the first beginning of the conquest, but now those coastes be inhabited, and better furnished.

Captiuitie in old tyme most grieuous, and not inferior to death.

## CHAPT. XXIII.

*Most memorable examples of pestilence and famine in oulde times past. Also the intollerable tributes that haue bene then: And the rauenuous pillings and powlings.*

**Y** Et thou proceedest on in thy whining complaint, adioining moreouer plague and famine, tributes & rapines. Let vs therefore make comparison of all these. but in fewe wordes. Tell me, how many thousands haue died of the pestilence in all the low-contries within these fiue or six yeares? I thinke fiftie, or at the most one hundred thousand, But one plague in Iudæa in the time of King Dauid, swypped awaie threescore and ten thousand in lesse space then one whole daie. Vnder Gallus and Volusianus the Emperours a plague (a) beginning in Ethiopia, went thorough all the Romaine prouinces, and continued wasting and deuouring fiftene yeares together. I neuer reade of a pestilence greater then that for continuance of time, or scope of places where it raged. Notwithstanding for fiercenes and extreme violence, that pestilence was more notorious which raigned in Bizance and the places confining, vnder the Emperour Iustinian. The extremity of which plague was so outrageous, that it made euerie day 5000. coarces, and some daies 10000. I would be afraide for suspition of falshood to write this, except I had very (b) credible witnesss thereof that liued in the same age. No lesse wonderfull was the plague of Afrike which began about the subuersion of Carthage. In the region of Numidia onely (now called Barbary) it consumed (c) eight hundred thousand men In the maritime coastes of Affricke 200000. And at Vtica 30000. soldiers which were left there for defence of that coast. Again in Greece vnder the raigne of Michael duca: the plague was so hot, *That the liuing sufficed not to burie the*

Pestilence of  
old time.

(a) Zonaras. T. 2

(b) Procius lib.  
11. de bello per-  
fico. et Aqashias  
lib. 5. hist.

(c) Oposus lib. 5  
cap. 8.

the



*the dead:* Those bee the wordes of Zonara. Finally in (a) Petrarches time (as he recordeth) the pestilence waxed so feruent in Italie, that of euery thousand persons scant ten were left aliue.

(a) *About the  
yeere of Christ  
1359.*

And now touching famine, our age hath seene none in comparison of old time. Vnder Honorius the Emperour there was such scarcity and lacke of victualles at Rome, (b) That one man fed vpon another: And in the place of the common assembly to see plaies and games, there was heard a voice openly saying, *Set a price vpon mans flesh* (c). Againe throughout all Italy. What time as the Gothes ransackt it vnder Iustinian, there raged so fore a famine, that in the cuntry of Picem fiftie thousand men perished with hunger: And not onely the flesh, but the very excrements of men serued commonly for meate. Two women (I quake to speake it) killed 17. men in the nighte by trechery, and did eate them: at length themselues were slain by the eighteenth who perceaued the matter. I speake not of the famine in the holy cittie, nor of other examples commonly knowne.

Famine in tymes past.

(b) *Zosimus, 6.  
annal.*

(c) *Procopius  
of the war of the  
Gothes, II. booke  
In whose writings  
see more.*

And now if I shall say somewhat concerning tributes, it cannot be denied but they are very grieuous wherwith we are oppressed, if wee consider them in themselues alone without comparing y<sup>e</sup> same with those of old time s.

The excessive tributes in old time.

(d) Almost euery prouince vnder the Romaine Empire payd yeerely the first of their pasture land, and the tentes of their earable. Neither did Antonius and Cæsar stick to exacte the tributes of 9. or 10. yeeres, altogether in one year. After the killing of Iulius Cæsar, when armes were taken for defence of liberty, euery citizen was commanded to defray the fine and twentieth parte of al his goods: & more then this, as many as wer of the degre of Senators paid (e) *six asses* for euery tile stone of their houses, which amounteth to an infinite sum of mony, and in our opinions neither credible, nor payable.

(d) *Appianus lib.  
I. ἐμφυλ  
I belli ciuili.*

(e) *Six asses as  
my author set-  
teth is downe  
Every asse (as  
some write) is  
worth a groat,  
But Dio lib.  
has. 46.*

But Octavianus Cæsar (I beleue) in regard of his name.

τέσσαρες  
ὀβόλους ἑ,  
quatuor obulos.  
Obulus autem  
aliquibus est  
sexta pars drach-  
mæ. Nobis octa-  
na. Aliis al ter.  
(a) Because  
octavianus is the  
eighr. Dio. lib. 1.  
(b) Those were  
such as the Ro-  
maines did send  
of their owne  
people to inhabit  
conquered places

The miserie in  
placing of CO-  
LONIES.

(c) pars scythi-  
anæ, aut toto di-  
uisos arbe Bry-  
tannos.

(a) name, exacted & receiued of his enfranchized seruants, y eight part of al their goods. I omit that which y TRI-VMVIRI & other Tyrants practised, least by the reherfall thereof I should instruct them of our time. Let one example of pilling & powling serue for all the rest, namely that of (b) COLONIES, which deuise as it was most assured for the strengthening of the Empire; So there could nothing be imagined more heauie to the subiectes that were conquered. Whole Legions and bands of old Souldiors were sent abroad into Countries and townes, and the poore natural inhabitantes there, were in shorte time fleeced of al their goodes and substance, and that without any fault or offence of them, but only their welth and fat fields were the cause thereof. In which one kind of pilling is contained a gulse of al calamities besides. Is it a miserable case to bee spoiled of our money? What is it then to be deprived of our fieldes and houses? If it bee greuous to be thrust out of them; what is it to be banished our Countrey? To be cast out from our Churches and altars? For loe, certein thousands of people were taken vp, children from their parents, maisters from their families, women from their husbands, and were dispersed abroad into diuers Countries, euery one as his lotte was. Some among *The thirstie Africans*, As the Poet speaking of this matter sayth (c) *part of them into Scythia, or among the Britannes inhabiting the vtmost endes of the world from vs.* Onely Octavianus Cæsar in Italie alone placed 28. Colonies: And in the prouinces of the Empire as many as pleased him. And I know not of any one thing more pernicious then that, to the Frenchmen, vs, and Spaniards.

### CHAPT. XXIII.

*Some strange examples of crueltie and butcherlie slaughters, surpassing all the mischienous massacres of our time.*

But

**B**Vt thou sayst further that the cruelties and butcherly slaughters of this age are such, as haue not bin heard of before. I know thy meaning, and what hath been The outragi-  
ous and infam-  
ous slaugh-  
ters of old.  
time.  
(a) lately doone. Yet, vpon thy credit *Lipsius* tel me, hath not the like beene among the Auncients? Thou art ignorant, if thou know it not, and scarce honest if thou dissembleit. The examples are so many and readye at hand, that it is a businesse for me to make choice of them. (a) I take it he  
meaneth the  
Massacre at Pra-  
ris on Bartholo-  
mewes daie.  
Hast thou heard of the name of Sylla, that happie man? Then art thou not ignoraunt of his infamous and tyrannous proscription, whereby hee deprived one Cittie of (b) Valerius.  
lib. 11.  
(b) foure thousande seuen hundred cittizens. And least thou shouldest thinke they were of the base, and meanest condition, know this that 140. of them were Senatours. I say nothing of the manifold murthers that were doone by his permission or commission. So as it was not without cause that *Q. Catulus* vttered these wordes, *With whom shal we liue at last, if we kill armed men in warrè, and the unarmed in peace?* Not long after I read that three of Syllas schollers being *TRIVMVIRI*, imitating their master, banished (c) 300. Senators and aboute 2000. Gentlemen of Rome. O monstrous wickednes, the like whereof the sunne neuer saw nor shall see from East to West! Read *Appian* if thou wilt, and there behold the variable and lothsome spectacle of some hiding in corners, some flying away: some drawing backe, others plucking forwards, children and wiues making lamentations rounde about. *I would I were dead if any man will not affirme,* that humanitie it selfe was vtterly extinguished in that bloody and brutish age. These thinges were executed vpon Senators and Gentlemen of the best sort, euen knights: That is, almost vpon so many kings & princes.

But peraduenture the common sort tasted not of this sawce? Yes, marke howe the verie same Sylla, (d) Valeri-  
us lib. 9. 13.  
(d) when as foure Legions of the contrary party had yeelded



Amounteth to  
the number of  
24000. Though  
Seneca speake  
but of 7000.  
Deira.

to his fidelitie, he caused them euery mā to be put to the sword  
in a cōmon village, they crying out in vaine for mercy at his  
trecherus hands. The pitifull gronings of which men at  
their death, comming to the Senate, & the Senators tur-  
ning about therewith amased. *O reuerent fathers* (quoth  
he) *let this be. Only a few sedicious personnes are punished by*  
*my appointment.* And surely I knowe not at whether of  
these two I should maruill most, That a man could find  
in his heart to commit such a fact or to vtter such words.

What? wilt thou haue yet more examples of cruelty?  
heare then (a). Seruius Galba assembling together the  
people of three townes in Spaine as if he had to treat of  
some thing of their wealth, caused sodenly to be murthe-  
red 7000. among whome was the flower of al the youth.

(a) *Valerius.*

In the same cuntry (b). *L. Licinius lucullus* the Consul,  
contrary to his promise made at the yealding of the Cau-  
cæans, sent his soldiors into their cittie and slue of them  
20000. *O*ctavianus Augustus when hee tooke Perowse.

(b) *Appianus.*

(c) *Choosing out 300. of those that had yeilded, as well of the*  
*better sort, as of the vulgar, slue them in manner of sacrifices*  
*before an altar newly erected* (d). *DIVO IVLIO.* Antoni-  
us Caracalca being (for some kinde of iests I knowe not

(c) *Suetonius.*  
*his wordes.*

what) offended with them of Alexandria (e), entring the  
citty in peaceable manner, and calling out all their youth  
into a faire fielde, enclosed them with his souldiors and  
at a signe giuen, killed them euery man; vsing the like  
cruelty against all the residue, whereby hee leste vtterlie

(d) *Tost Iulius.*  
(e) *Ziphilinus &*  
*Herodians.*

without an inhabitant, that populous cittie (f) kinge  
Mithridates by one letter caused to be murthred 4 score  
thousand citizens of Rome, that were dispersed abroad  
throughout Asia about their marchandise, and other af-  
fares (g). *Volesus Messala* being Proconsul of Asia, slue

(f) *Valerius and*  
*others.*

with the sword 300. in one day, & then walking proudly  
among y corpses with his hands cast abrod, as though he  
had atchiued a worthy enterprife, cried out (h) *Oh kingly*

(g) *Seneca. 11.*  
*de Ira.*

deed! I speake onely of prophane and wicked heathens:

(h) ὦ βασιλικὸν  
σπλιλὸν

But

But behold also among those that are in name consecrated to the true God, Theodosius the prince, most mischieuously and fraudulently calling together at Theffalonica 7000. innocent persons, as it were to see plaies, sente in souldiors among them, and flue them. Then the which facte there is not any more impious among the impieties of the old tirants. Goe to now my cuntry men of Belgica, and complaine of the tyrannie and trechery of princes in this age.

## CHAPT. XXV.

*The tyranny of our time is extenuated. Shewing that the same is a thing incident either to the nature, or malice of men. And that both externall and internall oppressions haue benne in old time.*

**F**Inally, thou doest accuise moreouer the tyrannie of these times, and the oppressions of body and minde.

It is not my purpose ambitiously to extoll this our age, or to afflicte and grieue it. For what good would come thereof? I will speake of that, that maketh for my purpose of comparison. When were not these euills rise?

And where not? Name me any age without some notable tyrannie, or any cuntry? if thou canst doe so (let me abide the danger of this hazarde) I will confesse that we be

the most wretched of all wretches. Why houldest thou thy peace? I see the old taunting by-word is true, *That all good princes may be* (a) *written at large in the compasse of our ring.*

For it is natually geuen to mens dispositions, to vse imperial authority insolently, neither can they easily keep a meane in that thing which is aboue mediocritie. Euen we our selues that thus complaine of tyranny, do beare in our brestes some seede thereof, and many of vs doe not want wil to performe it, but ability. The serpent being benumbed with cold, hath yet his poyson within him, but

nummed with cold, hath yet his poyson within him, but

nummed with cold, hath yet his poyson within him, but

nummed with cold, hath yet his poyson within him, but

nummed with cold, hath yet his poyson within him, but

Tyrannies & oppressions haue bin common at all times.

(a) *Perferibi,* And in another edition.

*Præscribi,* Which haue their original from the pride & fiercenes of mans nature.

doth not cast it out: So is it with vs, whom only imbecility keepeth back from doing harme, and a certain coldnes of Fortune. Geue strength, giue fit opportunity or instruments and I fear me that they which now are so querulous against mightie men, will be most viruly themselues. Wee haue examples in the common course of our life. See how this father tyrannizeth ouer his children: That master ouer his seruants, Another scoole-master ouer his schoilers. Euery one of these is a (a) Phaleris in his kind: And they do stirre vp waues as much within their riuers, as kinges doe in their great Seas. Neither are other liuing creatures free from this natural disposition: Among whom many do exercise their cruelty vpon their like in kind, both in the aire, earth, and water; As it is wel said of Varo,

*So little fish to great ones are a praye,*

*And fillie birdes, the greedie hauke doth slay.*

(a) A most  
cruel tyrant

There is ty-  
ranny also a-  
mong other  
liuing crea-  
tures.

Of oppressio  
for religion

Thou replyest yet, that all these are only oppressions of the body: But now this passeth all the rest, that we endure also seruite oppression of our mindes. Is it so indeed? Of our mindes? Take heed this bee not spoken more enuiouslie, than trulie. Hee seemeth vnto mee to knowe neither himselfe, nor the celestially nature of the mind, which thinketh it may be oppressed, or constrained. For no outwarde force can euer make thee to will what thou will not; or to beleue that thou beleuest not. A man may haue power vpon this bonde or fetter of the minde, but not ouer the mind it self. A tyrant hath power to loose it from the body, but not vnloose the nature therof. Such things as bee pure, euerlasting, and of fierie nature, set nought by al external & violent handling. But (saist thou) it is not lawfull for mee to expresse my mind freely. Be it so: herein thy tongue alone is bridled, not thy mind. Thy iudgment is not restrained, but thy acts. But this is a strange course & neuer before herd off

The same  
hath bin like  
wife in times  
past.

Alas



Alas good man, how art thou deceiued? How many could I recount vnto thee, who for their vnaduised tongues haue suffred punishment of al their senses vnder tyrantes? Howe many of them haue indeuoured to force & constraime mens iudgments? yea their iudgments (I say) in matters of religion. The kings of *Persia* and of the East made it an ordinary custome to be adored. And we know that Alexander assumed to himselfe the same diuine honor, his own plaine countrey men the Macedonians misliking it. Among the Romanes that good and moderate prince Augustus had his *Flamines* & Priests in al prouinces, yea in priuat houses, as a God. Caligula cutting off the heades frō the images of their heathen gods, caused the likenes of his own to be put in their steads; and with a ridiculous impietie he erected a temple, instituted priests and most exquisit sacrifices in honor of his own maiesty, Nero would needs be taken for 'Apollo', and the principall citizens were by him put to death vnder this pretēce (a) *because they had neuer sacrificed before the heavenly voice.*

As for Domitian, he was commonly called, *our God*, and *our Lord*: what vanity (*Lipsius*) or impietie wer it to speak ought at this day against any king? I purpose not to sail nerer this gulf, wherinto no stormy winds of ambition shal euer draw

or driue me, (b) *for the reward of silence is void of danger.* I wil al leadge only one testimony concerning all this matter of seruitude in old times, & that out of thy familiar writer, which I wold haue thee well to mark. Tacitus writing of Domitians time, hath thus. *We read that it was made a matter of death,*

*whē Petrus Thrasea was praised vnto Arulenus Insticus, or Priscus Heluidius to Herennius Senecio. Neither extended this cruelty vnto those autbors only, but also to their books, the Trunusiri, hauing the charge committed vnto them, to see the monuments of those excellent wittes burned in open viewe of the people, and in the market place. Forsooth they supposed by that fire vtterlieto abolish or suppress the speach of the people of Rome, the libertie of*

(a) This among others is objected to Thrasea.

(b) Periculo vacat silenti premium.

Tacitus.

(a) Note the condition of mere tyrantes the Senate, and the consciences of all mankind. (a) Expelling more-ouer al professors of wisdom, and banishing al good arts, to the intent that no honest thing should remaine in v're. Surely, we haue giuen a notable experiment of patience; And as the olde ages haue seene the verie highest degree in libertie, so haue wee felt the vitermost extremitie in seruitude: The verie societie of speaking and hearing being taken from vs by straight inquisition. We should also haue lost our memorie with our voice, if so be it lay in our power. to forget, as it doth to hold our peace.

## CHAPT. XXVI.

Finallie, it is prooued that these euils are neither strange, nor newe: but at all times common to all people and nations. And therein some comfort is sought for.

Against those who do imagine that these calamities are vnaccustomed, or els exceeding notorious & great

**N**either will I adde any more touching comparison; I come now to the laste troupe of my Legion, which fighteth against noueltie, but brieflie, and with contempt of it; For it shall rather gather vp the spoyle of the conquered enemies, than bee forced to any fierce grappling with them. For in verie trueth, what is there here that can be accounted new to any man, vnlesse that thou thy self being new borne, art a nouice in humaine affaires? Well spake Crantor and wiselie, who had euer this verse in his mouth, (b) *Uuoc is me, what wee is me? we haue suffred but things pertaining to men.* For these miseries doe but wheele about continually, & circularly run about this circle of the world. Why sighest thou for the happening of these heauy accidents? Why maruellest thou at them?

(b) *Heu me; Quid heu me? Humana perpeffimus.*

*O Agamemnon, Atreus thy Sire  
Begate thee not to ioyfulnesse alone:  
As mirth, so sorrowe sometimes is thy hire,  
Mortal thou art, and thereto wast thou borne.*

Yea

Yea though thou strine, and stubbournly refuse,  
God hauing wiled it so, thou canst not chuse.

This rather is a thing to be wondred at, if any man were lawlesly exempted from this common law, & caried none of that burthen, whereof euery man beareth a part. *Solon* seeing a very friend of his at *Athens* mourning piteously, brought him into a high tower, and shewed him vnderneath all the houses in that great cittie, saying vnto him, Thinke with thy selfe howe many sundry mourninges in times past haue bene in all these houses, how many at this present are, and in time to come shall bee: and leaue off to bewaile the miseries of mortall folke, as if they were thine owne. I woulde wish thee (*Lipsius*) to doe the like in this wide worlde. But because thou canst not in deed and fact; goe too, doe it a little vvhiles in conceite and imaginati- on. Suppose (if it please thee) that thou art with mee in the top of that high hill *Olimpus*; Behold from thence al townes, prouinces, and kingdomes of the world, and think that thou seest euen so many inclosures ful of humain calamities: these are but only Theaters and places for the purpose prepared: wherein Fortune playeth her bloody tragedies. Neither cast thine eies farre hence. Seest thou *Italie*? It is not yet full thirtie yeares agoe since it had rest from cruell and sharpe warres on euerie side. Doest thou beholde the large coun- trey of *Germany*? There were lately in her greate sparkes of ciuill dissention, which doe beginne to burne againe; and (vnlesse I bee deceiued) will growe to a more consuming flame. *Brittaine*? In it there haue bene continuall warres and slaughters, and in that now it resteth a while in peace, must be referred to the gouernment of a peaceable sex. What of *France*? See, and pittie her, Euen now a fettered Gangraene of bloudie warre creepeth thorough euerie ioynt thereof

A wittie in-  
mention of  
*Solon*, for  
consolation.

Great misera-  
ble desolati-  
ons in all the  
worlde.



So is it in all the worlde besides. Which thinges thinke vvell vpon (*Lipsius*) and by this communication or participation of miseries, lighten thine owne. And like as they which rode glorioustie in triumph, had a seruauant behinde their backs, who in the middes of all their triumphant iollitie, cryed out often times, *Thou art a man?* So let this be euer as a prompter by thy side, *That these things are humane, or appertaining to men.* For as labour being diuided between many, is easie: Euen so likewise is Sorrow.

## CHAPT. XXVII.

*The Conclusion of the whole conference: with a short admonition to the often repeating, and careful consideration thereof.*

The Conclusion and exhortation.

I Haue displayed all my forces (*Lipsius*) and all my argumentes. Thou hast heard as much as I thought necessary to be spoken in the behalfe of **CONSTACIE** against **SORROW**. Which God graunt it bee not onelie pleasing, but profitable vnto thee: and that it doe not so much delight, as benefite or helpe thee. As certain'y it will doe, if it sincke not into thy eares; alone, but also into thy minde: And if, hauing once heard the same, thou suffer it not to lie still and wither away as seede scattered vpon the face of the earth. Finally, if thou repeate the same often, and take due consideration thereof. Because that as fire is not forced out of the flint with one stroke: So in these frozen hearts of ours, the lurking and languishing sparkes of Honestie are not kindeled with the first stroke of admonitions. Which, that they may at the last be thoroughlie enkindled in thee, not in words or appearance, but in deed and fact, I humble and reuerentlie beseech that eternal and celestially (a) Fire.

(a) G. 1. who is a fire. i.e. spirit.

When

OF CONSTANCIE

When he had thus spoken, he rose vp hastily, and said: I am going (Lipſius) for this South Sun is vnto me a token of dinner tyme. Followe thou after mee. Euen ſo (quoth I) gladlie and with a very good will. And now may I rightly ſing together with you in the (a) *Antiphonie*, as is vſed in holic Ceremonies,

*I haue eſcaped the euill, and found the good.*

FINIS.

Laus, Honor, & Gloria; Deo  
trino & vno,



127 (a) In the Church were 3. partes of ſinging vſed. 1. *Proſphonſis*, that is, an invitation or prouoking. 2. *Antiphonia*, that is, a reſponſe or anſwere. 3. *Synodia*, a cloſe or ioyning together in harmony. See Apo. ca. 19. verſ. 1. 3. 5. it ſeemeth he had reſpect to this order.

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